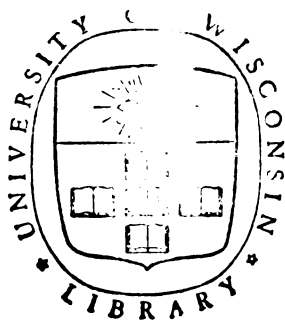

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No. VII.

CHRISTIAN

DOCTRINE AND PRACTICE

IN THE

SECOND CENTURY.

by
Caroline Frances Corbridge

PHILADELPHIA:
LEA AND BLANCHARD.
1846.

PHILADELPHIA :
T. K. AND P. G. COLLINS,
PRINTERS.

1524
BE
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CHRISTIAN DOCTRINE AND PRACTICE IN
THE SECOND CENTURY.

INTRODUCTION.

MUCH has been said and written within the last few years on the subject of Primitive Christianity; and, as generally happens on all points in which men's interests are deeply concerned, party spirit has crept in, and created discord where it is most to be lamented. It is a subject of wonder to many, that a religion of peace should ever give rise to the fierce animosities which have so frequently disgraced the history of the Church; but we may notice that in matters of civil polity, though they are the concern only of a few years, bloody disputes arise, notwithstanding that the Christian profession of the contending parties forbids any such outbreaks of ill-will towards our fellow-men. Can we wonder then, that when men's minds are so little disciplined in the true doctrine of Christianity, the same spirit which pervades their every-day intercourse should show itself on occasions where the feelings are yet more strongly roused? The interests of eternity far surpass those of this perishable world; and the half disciple of Christ, who believes in a future life, but has not studied the precepts of his master sufficiently to know how those interests will be best consulted, attaches himself to certain ceremonies or dogmata, as the keystones of salvation, and is proportionably angry with any one who seems endeavoring to pull

them down ; and thus the same lack of *real* Christian duty and feeling which shows itself in the violence of an election, is manifested also in the contention upon a disputed dogma in religion. Truly might the Saviour say to his disciples in all ages, "Ye know not what spirit ye are of."

It is not with any view to controversy that this little work is published: on the contrary it has been the object of the writer to promote concord, by showing Christianity in the very garb she wore when conquering the world ; when she was so lovely that men died for her sake, and he who came to gaze on the sufferings of the martyr, as at an idle spectacle, remained to share his fate, baptized, as it were, with his blood. To restore such feelings, to show Christians of all denominations in how many points they agree, and how very little they differ on any of those doctrines which a Catechist of the second century thought it needful to impress on the converts committed to his teaching, is an object worth some pains: accordingly the present small tract is the product of the labor of many years, during which the compiler has carefully gone over the early Christian writers. He has found the views of Clement of Alexandria pervading the whole ; but has chosen him as the representative of the early Church, because he has taken a larger survey of the *practical* part of Christianity than most of the writers which remain to us : and because, in these practical lessons, we see what was the mode of induction by which he arrived at the principles from which he afterwards deduced his precepts. A contrary practice has been frequently a source of error ; it is therefore the more needful to draw attention to this mode of proceeding.

Christianity is not a written code of laws : Christ

left no sacred books ; he left no command to his Apostles to write any ; they were to teach the principles of a pure faith and a pure morality, but were left to accommodate to circumstances the superstructure which was to be built on this foundation. When, therefore, we find a positive injunction in the writings of the Apostles, our first step must be to inquire under what circumstances that injunction was given : the next, to consider what was the fundamental principle from which, under such circumstances, such a precept was deduced ; that fundamental principle, when we have arrived at it, not the injunction itself, is Christianity. Thus the command to "greet one another with a holy kiss," was deduced from the principle of universal love to our fellow-creatures, and the apostle enjoined a testimony of it, which was conformable to the habits of the age and country in which he wrote ; the fundamental principle of extended benevolence is as important now as then, but the mode of testifying it is different : the *precept* is null, the *principle* is of eternal force. This is but one very obvious instance out of a multitude that might be given.

It is from this misunderstanding of the mode by which we are to arrive at Christian doctrine, that most of the sects in the Church have arisen ; for the sectarian builds his opinions on special interpretations of special texts, and his opponent argues on the same plan : neither of them appeals to great principles, and therefore the controversy is endless : since as long as we have no better medium than words framed for the natural wants of this world, to convey our notions relating to matters so wholly different, we shall never be able to impress our own full meaning on the mind of another : but were we once to go back to principles, which being the internal persuasions of

reason, will be felt in all minds alike,—at least in all that have the power of thinking and drawing a conclusion,—we should find that most of these long disputed dogmata would fade away, and men would wonder why they had been at variance.

Instead of taking a passage of St. Paul's Epistles, and endeavoring to make it a rule of faith, we should rather ask ourselves how was the great Apostle of the Gentiles situated when he wrote this? As, for instance when he says, "Beware lest any man spoil you through philosophy and vain deceit, after the rudiments of this world, and not after Christ," we ought to recollect the peculiar state of philosophy in his days, devoted rather to idle questions than real science; and conclude from thence, that the *principle* which he meant to enforce was, the founding our faith on sound knowledge, and not losing time over unavailing quibbles; such as, when a man leads a horse by a halter, whether it is the man or the halter which leads the horse: for of this kind were the questions which the sophists of those days delighted to puzzle their auditory with. To conclude against the philosophy of a Herschell, because St. Paul had mentioned the word philosophy in a tone of disapprobation, would be a specimen of the above mentioned narrow kind of adherence to the letter of the precept. The more reasonable mode of proceeding would rather be to ask ourselves,—had St. Paul lived in the nineteenth century, and visited this country, how would he have acted, and what mode of conduct would he have enjoined? he, who professed himself to be "all things to all men, if by any means he might save some." Uncompromising as he was in all that related to the weightier matters of the law, how carefully does he avoid wounding lesser prejudices! "One believeth that he may eat all things,

another who is weak, eateth herbs. Let not him that eateth despise him that eateth not: and let not him that eateth not, judge him that eateth, for God hath received him. Who art thou that judgest another's servant? to his own master he standeth or falleth. Yea he shall be holden up, for God is able to make him stand. One man esteemeth one day above another, another esteemeth every day alike. Let every man be fully persuaded in his own mind: he that regardeth the day, regardeth it unto the Lord; and he that regardeth not the day, to the Lord he doth not regard it."*

And here one word may be permitted;—it shall be a short and a kind one—to the Anglo-Catholics of Oxford, and their opponents. Would St. Paul, were he now here, speak otherwise than in the passage above quoted? Why, then, should there be a dispute over such minor differences? Learned and pious as the heads of the Anglo-Catholics are, have we any right to blame them for a scrupulousness which St. Paul would have respected? Yet learned and pious as those excellent men undoubtedly are, may they not learn one farther lesson from him, and be contented to leave to their brethren that Christian liberty which he would not have abridged? It may admit a doubt, and a well-grounded one, whether that Apostle, with his eminently liberal and practical views, would ever have wished to revive in England, in the nineteenth century, the discipline of the Churches of Syria or Greece in the fourth. Let us then rather hold out the hand of Christian affection to each other, and allow mutually, that “he that regardeth the day, regardeth it unto the Lord; and he

* Rom. xiv. 2-6.

that regardeth not the day, to the Lord he doth not regard it.”

Clement of Alexandria, whose writings form the groundwork of the following pages, is thought to have been born at Athens: he was the son of Gentile parents, whose rank and fortune enabled them to afford him all the advantages of a liberal education; his own diligence aided his parents' liberality, and young Clement made extraordinary proficiency in philosophy, that early philosophy of Greece which, as he himself afterwards observed, “was, like the Mosaic law, a schoolmaster to bring men to Christ.” Socrates and Plato brought him to the foot of the cross, and like the Roman centurion, his heart confessed at once the presence of the Deity in that suffering man. He became a Christian, and a zealous one; brought the treasures of his mind to the aid of the Church, and was for many years a Catechist, that is, a person charged with the instruction of the heathen converts before baptism. He remained at Alexandria, and finally became a presbyter, but never was raised to the rank of a bishop. He died peaceably about A. D. 212. His writings probably bear date about A. D. 180 to A. D. 202, at which latter period the persecution of the Emperor Severus drove him from the school at Alexandria to take shelter in a safe obscurity, till the storm was overblown.

A few remarks will be needful to put the unlearned reader in possession of some peculiarities in the language, before he enters upon the following or any other translation from the Greek. Much of the New Testament will become the clearer in consequence. The word *Λόγος*, which in the Gospel of St. John is translated *WORD*, has in the original a much wider

signification; for though it occasionally has that sense, it much more generally signifies the reasoning faculty, or active power of the mind: from it is derived our word *logic*, and from λογικός, *logicos*, *rational*, we take our *logical*. A foolish man would be termed in Greek ἀλογος, i. e., without *logos* or understanding. The word λόγος was so commonly used in the schools of philosophy at the time when the New Testament was written, that no one could have had a moment's difficulty as to its sense; and accordingly we find several of the early Christian writers observing that the *Logos*, i. e., the active rational power, must have been in God from all eternity, because God is essentially λογικός, i. e., rational; and they accordingly give that title to every manifestation of God's will to his creatures, considering it in this case to be the rational power of God in visible action. Thus we find St. Paul speaking of the "Spiritual Rock," which followed the Israelites in their journey through the desert, "which rock was Christ."* And shortly after, "neither let us tempt Christ, as some of them also tempted, and were destroyed of serpents;" where the visible presence of God in the tabernacle is evidently termed Christ; a word used by the Apostle as synonymous with *Logos*, because, though different in their original signification, the two names were applied to the same Being.

Christ, which is the English mode of writing the Greek χριστος, i. e., anointed, is the same in meaning as the *Messiah* of the Hebrew, and both are applied to Aaron and the priests who succeeded him, because they were consecrated by unction: thus we constantly find in the Mosaic law, "and *the Messiah, the Priest, shall do thus:*"—that is, the anointed or

* 1 Cor. x. 4.

consecrated priest; and hence the appropriateness of the allusions to the office of the high priest in the Epistle to the Hebrews. Some allusions of this kind will also be found in Clement's writings. The double meaning of these titles gives rise perpetually to a play upon the words, which frequently cannot be rendered in a translation without a long periphrasis.

Another term which is used largely by Clement, and also by St. Paul, is taken from the mysteries of the Greeks, where the neophyte went through various stages of initiation, till at last he was permitted to know the whole arcanum, and then he was called finished or perfect (*τέλειος*). The perfect Christian, then, in the acceptation of the early writers of the Church, does not mean a person who has never sinned, but one who, passing through the various stages of Christian discipline, had arrived at the complete knowledge of the spirit and meaning of his profession: for it must be recollected, that they are speaking of persons who had been brought up in the errors of heathenism, and who, having wished to be instructed in the mysteries of Christ instead of those of Eleusis, went through the different grades, first, of repentance for past errors; second, of belief or faith in the doctrines taught; third and last, of complete knowledge; and a Christian thus perfectly initiated Clement calls a Gnostic, from *γνώσις*, gnosis, a perfect knowledge of a subject. The title of Gnostic had been adopted by some corruptors of the faith also, and Clement addresses himself to them, showing them wherein they were wrong; for, says he, "the true Christian Gnostic will be such a one as I sketch out;" and a more beautiful character can hardly be imagined than that of Clement's Gnostic, or perfect Christian.

It will be evident from what has been said, that in

order to give a true notion of the writer's meaning to the mere English reader, a paraphrase rather than a translation of the extracts given must often be requisite, and the compiler has, on many occasions, adopted that method, with a due care, however, to add nothing to the *meaning* of the original. Extracts from other authors of about the same age have been given, when they were useful either to corroborate or to explain the meaning of Clement. In some cases, as in the chapter of the Pædagogus on the Christian use of food, some details have been entered into, which at first sight may appear irrelevant to the general purpose of this small work; but there has been an object in their insertion: we are too apt to lose sight of the diversity of country and manners, in reading ancient writings, and thus make two mistakes; the one by unconditionally accepting their precepts, the other by unconditionally rejecting them. The same process which has been recommended above, with regard to the Epistles of the Apostles, is more needful yet in reading the writings of their successors, and it is in order to set the reader down, as it were, in a very different state of society, that some of these *fashions* of the day have been preserved in this selection from early Christian writers.

It should be remembered by all who are desirous of understanding the writings of the fathers, or the state of the Church in their times, that, in the early ages, heathens were the stuff that Christians were made out of. Men and women too were, by their early habits, corrupted to a point which surpasses anything which, in modern times, the decent part of society can even guess at: the grossest obscenities were the common, public, and every-day habits of life, and of religion too: and philosophers, in their schools, mooted the coarsest questions in the coarsest

language without the slightest reserve. The Roman Emperors made a parade of every abomination that man could commit, without attempting the least concealment even from the people in general, excepting in the case of Tiberius:—eyes, ears, thoughts, were poisoned from morning till night by a tainted atmosphere. Amid this steam of putridity Christianity raised itself, pure, unspotted, holy,—wrapped, as it were, in the fragrance of heaven in the midst of the reeking corruption: it was around the cross only that a pure air could be breathed, and men fled to it as for life:—but they carried with them the recollection and the stains of their early habits:—what wonder then that even Christian doctors used language, and discussed questions which are now strange to our ears? what wonder, if amid such scenes as were rife in the moving world, many should withdraw wholly from it, and find their happiness in the wilderness? what wonder if the bishop who had a feeling of what Christian duty is, should seek to gain a power even over crowned heads, that would enable him to check such licentiousness? When Ambrose closed the gates of the Cathedral of Milan against the Emperor Theodosius, then stained with the massacre at Thessalonica, and compelled him to public penance and reparation, he showed what was the noble object which animated the heads of the Church at that time, in striving to exalt the spiritual over the temporal jurisdiction: the common sense of the people compared the bishop with the emperor,—the former not without faults, but infinitely superior in all that forms the true greatness of man, to the licentious tyrants who too often wore the purple; and public opinion gave the supremacy to the bishop. A power which confessedly stands on this as its chief support, must have begun in good; for nothing that

is in the first instance oppressive or wholly false can gain a *majority* of adherents, which a power founded on public opinion implies ; but unfortunately the very nobleness and greatness of the end, blinded those who had it in view, so far, that they became unscrupulous as to the means of attaining it ; and having once lost sight of the Christian command not to do evil that good may come, the very advancers of a noble object corrupted their own hearts, and vitiated their purpose by the ill means adopted : the step was easy from spiritual to political power, and an ambitious man who saw that his really devout predecessors had not scrupled to make use of fraud, to gain a farther hold on the minds of the people, easily persuaded himself that his political ambition had really the glory of God in view, and used the same means for a worse purpose. Political power was gained partly by immoral means, partly by the lingering prestige of holiness which hung round the priestly vestment, compared with the vices and cruelties of the princes of a rude age : but political power placed the prince bishops on a level with temporal rulers, they adopted their manners and their vices, and once more public opinion stripped and threw down the idol, which but a few ages before it had so eagerly set up.

Such is the view which an unprejudiced spectator probably would take of the rise of the spiritual power, which at last frightened its creators into pulling it down again ; and it may be usefully applied to the present times. We should then view Romanism as an almost necessary phase of Christianity in a state of society now passed away, and remembering that since the Church, according to the promise of its founder, is to be coeval with the world, it must have within itself the power of accommodating itself to the

state and needs of every age;—we shall endeavor to develop its power in the direction most appropriate to time and place, not by reviving the exact discipline of any bygone age, but by giving it the energy best suited to our own; an energy of good and useful works rather than of ceremonial observance. It is better to remember Cyprian calling his flock together to nurse the sick of the plague at Carthage, than to dwell on his high pretensions to episcopal power, though if in any they were ever justified, it was in such a man. When the Church makes such calls, men's hearts respond to it, if not their lips; for though Cyprian died a martyr to his faith, his honored obsequies met no interruption from the heathen governor, who knew how dear the Christian bishop was become, even to the population who had not received his creed, by his unhesitating and undistinguishing benevolence:—undistinguishing, I mean, as to what the religious profession of the object of it might be. Heathens had left their sick and dying relatives,—Christians had nursed them as a part of the great human brotherhood,—and the tears of both parties flowed over his grave, who had given the impulse to this act of self-devotion.

Let us view the first Christians then as they were; as men of great minds, though influenced, as all men must be, by the circumstances of their times; mixing almost superhuman virtues at one time, with human errors at another, and whilst contemplating those virtues with the admiration which all who love excellence must feel, let us not suffer our admiration to blind us to their faults, nor forget that there is but **ONE PERFECT EXEMPLAR** for every Christian to follow.

AN EXHORTATION TO THE GREEKS.

C. I. THE writer opens his subject by reminding the Greeks of their traditions respecting the effects of the music and sacred hymns of Amphion, Orpheus, and others. Song, he observes, has been the vehicle of superstition too often, it is now time that other and better hymns should teach you other and better lessons. He thus continues:

“The Lord has made man after his own likeness, that he might be a fair, self-breathing instrument of sweet music; and He too the heavenly supra-mundane Logos, is a holy and well-tuned organ, giving forth the whole harmony of God. What then does this organ, our Lord the Logos of God, intend to effect by his new song? To open the eyes of the blind and the ears of the deaf, and to lead the erring and lame to the paths of righteousness: to show God to foolish men, to put an end to corruption, to vanquish death, and to turn disobedient sons towards their Father; for this organ of God is a lover of man. The Lord pities, instructs, exhorts, admonishes, saves, guards, and finally announces to us an abundant reward for our proficiency in learning the lessons he teaches, even the kingdom of heaven! He enjoys but one pleasure through us, and that is that we should be saved: for vice indeed feeds upon the corruption and destruction of man, but the Eternal Truth like a bee, drawing to himself all the sweetness of the flower without hurting it, rejoices only in our salvation. See then! thou hast His promise! thou hast His affection for thy race! Participate in

the proffered grace. And as for this my song of salvation, think it not altogether new, for before the morning star HE was. 'In the beginning was the Logos, and the Logos was with God, and God was the Logos.'

"But error seems ancient: the truth appears to be new: thus the fabulous goats teach the antiquity of the Phrygians; or the poets feign the Arcadians to have existed before the moon; or the Egyptians imagine their land to have first produced both gods and men; but none of these claim to have existed before the world. But long before the world *we** existed in the will and intention of God; for we are the rational creation of God's† rational will, and through him we became the most ancient; for the Logos, i. e., reason, was in the beginning; and as the Logos was before all things, so he was and is the divine origin of all: but now that he first takes the name which of old belonged to the sacrificing priest,‡ namely, that of Christ, I call the song a new one.

"The divine Logos, the Christ, was the cause of our being, and of our well-being also: for he was in God:§ and now this Logos himself appears to men,

* i. e., the Christians; who then appeared as a new sect.

† τῷ Θεῷ Λόγος ἁ λογικὰ πλάσματα ἡμεῖς.

‡ The sacrificing priests, under the Mosaic dispensation, were termed the Messiah or anointed. This word is translated in Greek by *χριστος* i. e., Christ.

§ "For God was before all things alone—being both world and place and everything to himself. Alone, because there is nothing exterior to Him, and yet not indeed alone, because he had in himself his reason: for God is rational, and reason was first in Him, and thus all things are from Him, and this reason is his sensation. The Greeks term it *λογος*, which we translate *WORD*, and thus our people, for brevity's sake, say, 'In the beginning the Word was with God,' though it would be more proper to say, reason, since God was not speaking from the beginning, although rational; and this he was, even before the

the only being that ever partook of both natures, as well that of God as of man, to be the cause of all good to us. From him we learn to live virtuously; by him we are conducted towards eternal life, as says the divine apostle of the Lord, 'the love of God the Saviour was manifested to all men, instructing us, in order that we, having abjured all impiety and worldly desires, might live soberly, and justly, and piously in this world, expecting, in blessed hope, the manifestation of the glory of our great God and Saviour, Jesus Christ.

"This then is the new song: namely the appearance of the Logos, existing in the beginning, and before the beginning, now shining forth in us. The pre-existing Saviour has now but a short time since, appeared to us: HE has appeared who exists ever in the Ever-existing: in order that the Logos,—i. e., reason or wisdom,—by whom all things were created,* who was with God, might become a teacher to

beginning; for the very word spoken, consisting of reason, shows the prior existence of this latter. . . . Considering, therefore, and disposing by his reason, He effected his will by his word. Which thou mayst easily understand by what passes in thyself . . . when thou conferrest silently with thine own reason."—*Tertull. adv. Praxeam*, c. 5.

* "God through his reason or word (λόγος) and wisdom (σοφίας) made all things."—*Theoph. ad Autolyicum*, lib. i.

"It is not allowable to think otherwise therefore of the Spirit and the power (τὸ πνεῦμα καὶ τὴν δύναμιν) which is in God (παρὰ τῷ Θεῷ) than that it is the Logos, which also is the firstborn of God, as Moses the prophet has shown. This came upon the Virgin and overshadowed her," &c.—*Justin Mart.*, Ap. ii.

"Possessing the Spirit which is Jesus Christ."—*Ignat. ad Magnesios Ep.*, § 5.

Nothing is more remarkable in the early Christian writers than the care with which they guard against any separation of the Deity in the mind; probably the Arian notion which made the Logos a separate being was already beginning to creep in. But as in the above passage Justin asserts the complete oneness of the Deity as manifested in Christ, so he asserts also the com-

us. The Logos who gave life in the beginning as Creator, now appears as a teacher, in order that he may afterwards, as God, give us life eternal. Nor did he now first take pity on our errors, but long ago, in the beginning of time: and now, when we were perishing, he appears and saves. For the evil and creeping animal, tempting and bewitching, enslaves and tortures men even to this time, as the barbarians are said to do their captives, binding the dead to the living till both putrefy together. For this evil one, like a tyrant, ties such as he is able to make his own, to stones, and wood, and all sorts of idols, with the miserable bond of superstition; and, it may be said, buries the living with those who are already decayed: thus,—for the tempter is but one,—he dragged Eve of old,* and now other men, to death. Our Helper and Saviour, the Lord too, is One; awaiting, from the first, the time prophetically announced; but now visibly calling us to salvation. Let us then, according to the apostolic precept, fly ‘the ruler of the power of the air, of the spirit now energetic in the sons of disobedience,’ and escape to the Saviour and Lord, who now and ever exhorts to salvation, as he did of old in Egypt and the desert, through the bush and the cloud. And now by the voice of Moses the deeply learned, and Isaiah the lover of truth, and all the chorus of prophets, by a more rational teaching, he turns all who have ears towards that Logos which is the Divine Wisdom; sometimes he blames, some-

plete humanity of Jesus, within a few pages, in the same treatise. “Jesus, called the Son of God,” says he, “although he was a man according to the common acceptation of the term, was worthy of being called the Son of God, on account of the wisdom that was in him, for even your poets always call the Deity the father of gods and men.”—*Justin Mart., Ap. ii., p. 67.*

* The tempter, according to Clement’s opinion, is the earthly or sensual nature.—See *Protrep., c. 11.*

times he threatens; to some he speaks in elegies, to some in lyric songs; like a good physician using various remedies for the sick. For the Saviour is many voiced, and in many ways strives to effect the salvation of man.

“But thou, O Greek! if thou believest not the prophets, if to thee both the men and the fire are but a mythological fable, to thee the Lord himself speaks, ‘who being in the form of God, thought it no robbery to be equal with God;’ for the compassionate Deity abased himself in his eagerness to save man; and the Logos himself now addresses thee openly, shaming thy want of belief. I say then, that the Logos of God is made man, in order that thou mightest learn from a man, how man might become a god. Is it not then absurd, my friends, when God is always exhorting to virtue, to reject his help, and throw away salvation?”

Clement then goes on to notice the preaching of John, and his exhortations to repentance; and then adds, “Do thou then, if thou wouldst see God truly, participate in such a purification as shall be worthy of Him; not with leaves of laurel, and fillets varied with wool and purple, but clothing thyself with righteousness, and wearing the leaves of temperance for a garland, seek diligently till thou findest Christ. ‘I am the door,’ says he, and that door must be sought by those who would know God: that once attained, the gates of heaven are open to us: for the doors of the Divine Reason* are rational,† opening with the key of faith: no one knows God but the Son, and he to whom the Son makes him known; but I am well assured that he who has opened the door hitherto

* i. e. The Logos.

† λογικαὶ γὰρ αἱ τῷ Λόγῳ πύλαι.

shut, will henceforward reveal what is within; and will show those things which no one was able to know before, unless he entered by Christ, through whom alone God is perceived."

C. 2. "No longer then seek so curiously to explore the impious adyta of your temples, nor the mouths of deep caves full of wonders, the Thesprotean pot, or the Cirrhean tripod, or the brazen cauldron of Dodona, or the knotted tree among the sands of the desert, held in so much honor, or the oracle there given. With the decaying tree leave also these worn out fables: the Castalian fountain has been silenced, so has that of Colophon, and the other oracular streams have died away in like manner."

After a further triumphant notice of the now silent oracles, the writer launches into a comparison of the abominations of heathen mythology, and its gross and sensual rites, with the purity and sublime doctrines of Christianity: notices with praise the pure lives of the philosophers, who by their cotemporaries were termed atheists,* and insists, that so far from this charge being true, they were so stigmatized merely because they pointed out and despised the falsehood of the reigning superstition; "if they did not actually arrive at the truth," he adds, "at least they saw the error, and kept a living ember among the ashes, to be kindled hereafter to a brighter light." He then, with a fresh burst of indignant reproof, holds up to contempt the so called gods of the Greeks, and con-

* "Christ is the firstborn of God, as we have already shown, being the Logos (reason and speech) of which all the human race are participant, and they who live according to reason are Christians, though they may have been called atheists, such as Socrates and Heracleitus and the like, among the Greeks, and among the barbarians Abraham and Ananias, and Azarias, and Misael, and Elias, and many more which for brevity's sake I omit."—*Justin Mart. Ap. ii.*

tinues this strain through several chapters: after this he reviews the opinions of the philosophers; condemns their occasionally obscure, and occasionally timid expressions respecting the momentous truths which he is calling the attention of his readers to, and contrasts them with the bold, clear language of Christianity. From the philosophers he turns to the poets; and having pointed out many of their mean and unworthy representations of their mythological deities, he brings forward the Hebrew prophets to show the difference in sublimity between falsehood and truth, and calls on those who have been hitherto blinded by superstition, to listen to the true description of the Maker of all things.

C. 8. "The wise prophet Jeremiah, or rather the Holy Spirit speaking in him, thus describes God, 'I am a God at hand,' saith he, 'not a God afar off: what can man do in secret that I see not? Do not I fill heaven and earth? saith the Lord.' And again in Isaiah, 'Who shall measure the heavens with his span, and take the earth in his hand?' See now the immensity of God, and bow in awe before him. Him we worship of whom the prophet has said, 'before His face the mountains melt away, like wax before the fire'—that God whose throne is the heavens, and his footstool the earth." After some more quotations of this kind he thus proceeds.

"What then is the mystery of wisdom which I announce to you? We who have bowed ourselves before idols, are by that wisdom which is his Logos, raised to the truth; and this is the first resurrection from the fall."

C. 9. "The mouth of the Lord, the Holy Spirit, has said, 'Neglect not, my son, the instruction of the

* Protrept., c. 8.

Lord, neither shrink from his reproof.'—O exceeding philanthropy! God speaks to man, not as a schoolmaster to his scholars, not as a lord to his slaves, but as a father gently admonishing his children. Moses confesses that he feared and trembled when he heard the Logos, and thou hearing that divine Logos, dost thou not fear? Art thou not moved? Wilt thou not hasten to learn, that is, hasten to thy salvation, fearing his wrath, loving his kindness, eager for the hope he affords thee, that thou mayest escape judgment?"

C. 10. With an earnestness proportioned to the importance of the subject, the writer points out again and again the parental tenderness with which God calls his erring children back to himself: he entreats his readers no longer to hesitate, but to turn to the proffered embraces of their affectionate parent; and meets the anticipated objection that such a step would be an abandonment of the faith of their fathers, by a fresh demonstration of the vanity of that faith. "Call hither," he says, "your Pheidias and your Polycleitus, Praxiteles, and Apelles too, and all your excellent artists;—not one of them can make a breathing image; not one can mould his clay into flesh. Who softened the marrow? who hardened the bones? who swelled the veins, and poured the blood into them? who spread the skin over all? who of you all is able to construct an eye that shall see? who can breathe a soul into his work? who will bestow righteousness? who will promise immortality? HE alone, who is the Creator of the universe, the Great Artist and Father who formed man to be his living image. Your Olympian Jupiter, the image of an image, is the vain work of Attic hands: but the true image of God is his Logos, the genuine Son of the Eternal Mind, the Divine Reason, the Light

given forth by the Primal Light of all things:—and man is the image of the Logos, for there is in him a mind, which we are told was made in the image of God, and after his likeness; namely, a rational intellect, and feelings resembling the Divine.

“He who has never heard of the Logos receives pardon of his sins on account of his ignorance; but he who has received the knowledge, but yet turns away his soul from it through wilful incredulity, by how much the more prudent he may appear, by so much he does injury to his own intellect, for man was made to be familiar with God. We do not set the horse to plough, nor the bull to hunt, but occupy each of those beasts in what they were born for. And man, who is made to gaze on the skies, is evidently a heavenly plant: we call you then to the knowledge of God, to intimacy with him; and counsel you to get ready a due provision for eternity, even a pious life. Till the earth, we say, if thou be an husbandman; but still amid thy labors, learn to know God; if thou be devoted to a sea life, follow thy profession, but call upon the Heavenly Steersman. Art thou a soldier? listen to the righteous orders of thy Commander. Awaken then as a man does from drunken sleep, open your eyes gradually, and look at the miserable stones that you have worshiped.” After a page or two of the same kind of exhortation, he continues thus:—

C. 11. “And now, if you be willing, let us take a brief view of the Divine benevolence towards us. The first man formerly sported free in Paradise, for he was the child of God; but when he resigned himself to sensual pleasure, (for the serpent crawling on his belly is an allegorical expression for sensuality and earthly vice feeding on rubbish,) the youth was perverted with unruly desires, grew a

man in disobedience, and not choosing to listen to his Father, dishonored God. How great is the power of sensuality! the man who in his simplicity was free, is found bound by his sins. The Lord determined to loosen him again from his bonds, and for this purpose clothed himself in flesh; O divine mystery! By this he subdued the serpent, and enslaved the tyrant death; and what is most beyond belief, that very man who was wandering in the ways of sensuality, chained to corruption, is now seen with his hands unbound, and at liberty. The Lord was abased, but man arose, and he who had fallen from Paradise, received Heaven as the reward of a greater obedience. Why then should we any longer frequent the schools of Athens or of Ionia? For we have a Master who fills all things with his holy, creating, saving, beneficent power; and who guides us by precept, by prophecy, by instruction,—for he is able to teach us all things.”

“He who obeys him”—i. e. Christ—“exults in everything; follows God; obeys his Heavenly Father, acknowledging his former errors; loves God; loves his neighbor; fulfils the commandments; strives after the prize of a successful combatant; claims the promise. For it was always God’s intention* to save the human flock, and therefore the good God sent the good Shepherd: the Divine Logos, explaining the truth, showed men the height of salvation, and how the repentant would be saved, but the disobedient judged. What then do I exhort thee to do? I urge thee to save thyself—this is Christ’s will: in one word, he presents thee with life. And who is this Christ? I will tell you in a few words. He is the Logos or Word of truth—of incorruption:

* *πρόκειται δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ*—i. e. It always lay before God.

who regenerates man, leading him to truth; the spur to salvation, who puts away mortality, who expels death, who builds a temple in men, in order that God may dwell in them. Purify this temple, and throw sensuality and indolence, like an ephemeral flower, to the wind and the fire. Cultivate prudently the fruits of temperance, and consecrate thyself to God as a first-fruit of thy labor, and not of that only, but of the grace of God towards thee.

C. 12. "Let us fly then from old habits, let us fly them as we would a dangerous promontory, or the threatening of Charybdis, or the fabulous Sirens. An ill habit strangles the man: it turns him away from the truth, it is a snare, it is an abyss, it is a ditch to bury him in, an evil fan to blow away the good grain from his heart. But do thou

'Drive the good ship through yonder froth and foam.'*

Sail past, unheeding the song: its tones are death. If thou wilt, thou canst vanquish the danger, and bound to the mast,† thou wilt be free from all corruption: thy steersman will be the Logos of God, and the Holy Spirit is the favorable wind that calls thee to the port of heaven. There wilt thou see God, and take the last step in thy initiation in those holy mysteries." The writer then traces a parallel between the mysteries of Christ, and those of Bacchus, and thus proceeds:—

"These are *my* bacchanian mysteries: be initiated, and thou wilt join the chorus of angels around the self-existent, and undying, and only existing

* Part of the speech of Ulysses to his steersman. *Odys.* μ. v. 226.

† τῷ ξύλῳ, to the wood; the phrase is applicable also to the cross.

Deity, hymning with us the Logos of God. He is immortal, this Jesus—the one great high-priest of the one God his father, he prays for men, and thus calls them.—Listen to me, ye myriads of tribes, or rather as many of you as are rational, (λογιχοί,) as well barbarians as Greeks. I call the whole race of man, of whom I am the maker, by the will of the Father. Come to me, to be ranged under the one God, and under the one Logos of God, and not only shall you surpass irrational creatures by your reason, but I bestow on you alone, of all mortals, the gift of immortality. For if indeed all things are common between friends, and man is the friend of God, (for he is become so by the intervention of the Logos,) then man has a share in all that belongs to God; and all things are in common between the two friends, God and man. The pious Christian therefore can alone be called rich, and well-conducted, and well-born, for he is the image of God, made just, and holy, and prudent, by Christ Jesus, and by him rendered like to God. . . . Thus stand things then with us, the companions of Christ: as are our opinions, such are our words; and such as our words are, such are our actions; and such as our actions singly, will be our life generally: for the life of men who know Christ must be excellent in all points.”

THE PÆDAGOGUE, BOOK I.

C. 1. **THREE** things are chiefly to be noticed in man ; *i. e.* his general disposition, or morals,—his actions, or what he does actively ;—his emotions, or what he feels involuntarily and passively. Of these three, the *hortatory word* takes the especial charge of the general disposition, and whilst guiding men to piety, becomes a foundation for the building up of the faith. And in this teaching we rejoice greatly, and casting off our old opinions, we become young again, in order to our salvation, exclaiming with the prophet, “Oh how good is God to Israel, and to those whose hearts are set aright.” The *suggesting word* regulates our actions ; the emotions are guided and stilled by the *persuasive and consolatory word* ;* but this word is altogether one, and being one, snatches man from the multiformity of worldly habits, and leads him in one way to salvation, even faith in God. Therefore whilst our heavenly Leader, the Logos, is calling us to salvation, we call him the hortatory word...when he is at once suggestive and remedial, we call him in one appropriate word, the Pædagogus or Tutor. But this Tutor does not teach the methods of the schools, but is strictly practical ; for his object

* In this passage the writer appears to have availed himself of the many senses of λόγος, to make it signify many things at once ; and thus, while alluding to his own Exhortation, which might justly be called a hortatory argument, or word (λόγος ἠγορευτικός), he, at the same time, expresses the offices assumed by the Divine Λόγος, and the uses to be made of the sacred writings.

is rather to better the soul, than to imbue it with learning, and to make men wise and good, rather than scientific. The Logos is able to teach knowledge also, but not yet :—for the teacher of science occupies himself in unfolding abstruse doctrines ; but this Tutor, being practical, attends first to the regulation of the disposition and morals ; incites us to set ourselves manfully to the performance of our duties ; directs us by the purest of precepts ; holds up the example of preceding errors, as a warning to those who come after. . . The cure of the interior sickness of our passions follows, the Tutor strengthening the soul by persuasive examples, like gentle medicines : by his benevolent admonitions dieting the sick to a perfect knowledge of the truth : for in our phraseology, health differs from knowledge ; the one being gained from medicine, the other from school discipline. Now we never attempt to teach the sick man till he is quite recovered ; nor are the precepts enforced on the sick man and the scholar of the same kind : for in the one case they will relate to the cure, in the other to progress in learning. As then those who are sick in body need a physician, so do those whose souls are weak and ailing, need the superintendence of a tutor and guardian, who shall take care that they are cured of the sickness of the passions first ; and then afterwards comes the teacher who leads them, thus cured and purified, into an aptitude for perfect knowledge, so that they may be able to comprehend the unfolding of the whole course of instruction.— And thus the philanthropic Logos, eagerly diligent in carrying us on to perfection through the different stages of a salutary discipline, uses this wise arrangement ; and first exhorts, then guides, and finally instructs in all knowledge.

C. 2. Our Tutor, O ye children ! resembles his

Father, God ; whose un sinning, irreproachable son he is ; his soul being free from all earthly perturbations. He is pure God in the character of a man,—the minister of the paternal will,—the Logos-God, who is in the Father, who is from among the integral powers* of God,—God, with the very characteristics of God. He is to us an image without spot, which we must endeavor with all our strength to assimilate our souls to. But he indeed is free from the perturbation of human passions, and being alone without sin, is alone fit to be our judge ;—we nevertheless have so much power that we can endeavor to sin as little as possible, and there is nothing more urgent upon us than that we should, in the first place, free ourselves from the passions and sicknesses of our souls, and in the next, obtain power to prevent the too ready falling again into the habit of sinning.—Best of all it is not to sin at all—but this belongs to God ; the second grade is, not so much as to touch any unrighteousness intentionally, and this is the conduct of a sage : the third is not to fall into very many involuntary wrong doings, and this is the case with those who have been well educated ; the last and lowest is that of persons who do not remain long in their sins. . . . Involuntary wrong doings are those which are the result of a sudden emotion. To sin is to act on an irrational principle, and hence the Divine Reason (Λόγος) our Tutor, has taken us under his superintendence for the prevention of such folly. “Medicine,” says Democritus, “cures the diseases of the body, but wisdom removes those of the

* *ἐκ διξίων*, the word here used in the plural, is in many passages of the New Testament used in the singular, and has there been translated *on the right hand*: its plural use here would seem to prove that it everywhere means the power that is in God to afford help.

soul." The good Tutor who is the wisdom (σοφία) and the reason (λόγος) of the Father, and the Maker of man, cares for the whole of his creation, and being the complete physician of human nature, cures at once both soul and body: he says to the sick of the palsy, "Arise, take up thy bed, and go to thine house"—to the dead he cries, "Lazarus! come forth!" and the body arises from its tomb the soul he cures with precepts and gifts We, therefore, according to his intention, having become children, are disciplined under his excellent arrangement; which, embracing first the order of the heavens, next takes the direction of man himself, and considering him his greatest work, having already tempered his body in beauty and just proportion, guides his soul to wisdom and moderation, finally regulating his human actions, and inspiring his own godly order into the whole.

C. 3. The Lord is helpful to us in all ways, both as man and as God; for as God he takes away our sins, but as man he teaches us how to avoid sin. Well indeed may man be dear to God, since he is his own work: other things he called into existence by his fiat merely; but he made man as it were with his own hands, and breathed into him somewhat of his own nature Man, then, is loved by God; and how, indeed, should he not be loved on whose account the only born* was sent from the bosom of

* *μονογενής*. This word is usually translated *only begotten*: but as the early Christian writers so scrupulously disclaim any such relation between the eternal Father and Son as this phrase implies, it has been thought better to change it for another, though not, perhaps, less exceptionable phrase. No English word probably gives the meaning of the original. Let Athenagoras explain what was the notion attached to their expressions by the early Christians. The following extract is taken from his

the Father;—he, who is the rational foundation (λόγος) of the faith . . . It becomes us, therefore, to love him who so lovingly guides us towards a worthy life; and, conducting ourselves according to the rules of his discipline, not only to fulfil what is commanded, and abstain from what is prohibited, but to profit by the examples held up to us, so that by avoiding the faults we see, on the one hand, and imitating to the utmost of our power the excellence which we perceive, on the other, we may assimilate our actions to the likeness of our Divine Tutor; so that that part of us which is made in his image and similitude, may arrive at perfection. For wandering as we are in the deep obscurity of life, we need a sinless and discerning guide Let us then fulfil the commandments, according to the practice of the Lord: for the Divine Logos himself, being openly made flesh, exhibited both practical and theoretical virtue

Apology, which was written a little before the works of Clement of Alexandria:—

“It appears to me that I have sufficiently demonstrated that we cannot be Atheists, who preach one self-existent, eternal, invisible, impassible God, who can neither be included nor bounded, and who can be apprehended by the mind and reason alone; containing in himself ineffable light, and beauty, and spirit and power: by whom the universe was made, arranged and governed, through his Reason, or Word (Λόγος,) for we consider also that there is a Son of God. But let no one think it ridiculous that God should have a son, for we do not imagine anything respecting God the Father or the Son such as the poets’ fable, who make their gods no better than men. The Son of God is the rational power (λόγος) of the Father in manifestation (ἰδία) and efficacy (ἐνέργεια) by him, and through him, all things were made, the Father and the Son being one. For the Father is in the Son, and the Son in the Father in the unity and power of the Spirit: the mind (νοῦς) and reason (λόγος) of the Father is the Son of God.—God being from all eternity Mind only, has necessarily the rational power (τὸν λόγον) within himself; for he is eternally rational.”—*Athenag. Apol. pro. Christ.*, p. 10.

at once. Taking, therefore, the Logos as our law, we acknowledge his precepts and admonitions to be the shortest and best road towards eternity: for his institutions are full of persuasions, not of fear.

C. 4. "Delighting, therefore, now more and more in our wise obedience, we give ourselves up to the Lord, whether we be men or women, for there is but one rule for both. Both acknowledge one God, one Tutor, one Church: both are bound to the same temperance and moderation, to the same modesty:—food,—the union in marriage,—breath,—sight,—hearing,—hope,—obedience,—love,—are common to both, and for those who have thus all things in common, grace and salvation are also in common: the love and the training are alike for both. 'In this world, says he, (the Saviour,) there is marrying and giving in marriage,' in which alone the difference between male and female is to be discerned, "but in that which is to come, it is not so." There the enjoyments of that friendly and holy life which arises out of marriage, will not be confined to male and female; but will belong to man generally as a species, when earthly desires and he have parted company; for man is the general name common to both sexes.

C. 5 " To us Isaac was a type of the Lord: he was a youth, that is a son; for he was the son of Abraham as Christ is of God; a sacrifice like the Lord, but not like the Lord offered; for Isaac merely carried the wood for the sacrifice, as Christ carried the cross. Only it was right that Isaac should not suffer, but leave the first fruits of that endurance to the Lord: yet his not being put to death also typified the divinity of the Lord: for Jesus rose after his funeral, not having suffered (in his Divine part), as Isaac was dismissed from the altar."

THE PÆDAGOGUE, BOOK II.

C. 1. "HAVING now shown what the general tendency of our discipline is, it shall be my next task to show what ought to be the life of one who is called a Christian, and how his conduct will be regulated by our principles under all circumstances. For where any one has turned away from exterior things, and has been led by the Logos to the culture of the mind rather than that of the body, he must learn to look closely into all that occurs *in* man, and he will be aware that what is external concerns him but little. It is the eye of the soul, man's distinguishing peculiarity, which must be cleansed; while the flesh in like manner must be kept in chastity and holiness. What, indeed, is more desirable than that being loosened from those things in regard to which we may still consider ourselves as dust, we should press forward towards the thorough apprehension of the Deity. Other men, like the unreasoning animals, may live to eat; *we* have been taught by our Tutor to eat that we may live. For the nourishment of the body is not the work we have to do,—nor is sensual pleasure the object of our pursuit, but rather the entrance into those mansions of incorruption whither the Divine Wisdom (δ Λόγος) is guiding us. We shall, therefore, eat simple food as becomes children, and merely study to preserve life, not to obtain luxury. The best nourishment is that which is consistent with an easy digestion, so that the body may be light and fit for service; and thus growth, and health, and useful strength are promoted: for I am not speaking of the pampered state of the Athletæ, who from the immense eating necessary to their oc-

cupation, injure, rather than benefit their habit of body. Great varieties of cookery, too, are to be avoided; for these engender abundant evils, disordering the stomach, and depraving the taste, and injuring the constitution. Yet we shall find persons daring to call this study of luxury, seeking nourishment merely; when, in fact, they are falling into sensuality. Antiphanes, the Delian physician, considers this variety and research in cookery to be one of the causes of disease; but still they who have no taste for simplicity, abandon a proper moderation in diet for the vain glory of a fine table, and their whole anxiety is for choice dishes from beyond sea. To *me* they appear pitiable, as laboring under a disease; but *they* are not ashamed to employ themselves in celebrating their gluttonous enjoyments: their much sought *muræna* from the Sicilian straits, their *Mæandrian* eels, their kids from Melos, their mullets from Sciathos, their Pelorian scallops, their oysters from Abydena; not forgetting the anchovies from Lipara, or the Mantinæan turnips, or the beet grown by the Ascræans: they seek out the shell-fish of the Methymnæans, and the Athenian soles, and the Daphnian flounders, and the dry figs that the unhappy Persian monarch with his five hundred thousand men came to seek in Greece: * they buy birds from Phasis, and Egyptian snipes, and Median peacocks. All these, after undergoing a thousand changes in the cook's hands, are swallowed down by the glutton, who ransacks

The earth, the sea, and the wide-spreading air,
to satisfy his throat. These insatiable people seem,
as^d it were, to include the whole world in a drag-net

* See Athenæus, lib. xiv. c. 18.

for their table: and thus they go about gabbling to no purpose, till they have rubbed away their own lives in the cook's mortar. It appears to me that such a man is nothing but one great pouch.'—'Seek not,' says the Scripture, 'the dainties of the rich, for they are deceitful meat;' and we who seek for heavenly food, must command the stomach, and all that pertains to it. 'Meats for the belly,' says the Apostle, for it is by these that our fleshly and mortal life here is preserved; but some are bold enough to call these feasts, redolent of sauces and cookery, by the holy name of Agapè,* 'Call your feasts by their proper

* It was customary in the early church for the communicants to bring the bread and wine used in the Eucharist as an oblation on their part: a sufficiency was consecrated by the officiating minister, and if any was left after the ceremony, it was generally consumed on the spot by the communicants. The rest of the oblations were devoted to a meal eaten in the same place, "which," observes Bingham, in his *Antiquities of the Christian Church*, book xv. c. 7, "from the nature and circumstances of it was usually called Agapè, or feast of charity,† because it was a liberal contribution of the rich to feed the poor. St. Chrysostom gives this account of it, deriving it from Apostolical practice. He says‡ the first Christians had all things in common, as we read in the Acts of the Apostles; and when that ceased, as it did in the Apostles' time, this came in its room, as an efflux or imitation of it. For though the rich did not make all their substance common, yet upon certain days appointed, they made a common table; and when the service was ended, and they had communicated in the Holy Mysteries, they all met at a common feast; the rich bringing provisions; and the poor, and those who had nothing, being invited, they all feasted together."—"When the Christians in time of persecution, were obliged to meet early in the morning, before day, to celebrate the Eucharist we find the feast postponed . . . and Tertullian, who gives the most particular account of it, speaks of it as a supper a little before night. "Our supper," he says, "which you accuse of luxury, shows its nature in its name; for

† Ignat. Ep. ad Smyrn. ἀγάπην ποιεῖν.

‡ Chrys. Hom. 27.

names; term them dinner or supper parties, given for the sake of good fellowship and social intercourse: so the Lord himself called them: but do not confound things; for the Apostle tells us, If I give away my whole substance, and have not charity (*ἀγάπη*), I am nothing. The law and the word depend on this universal benevolence (*ἀγάπη*), and he who loves God and loves his neighbor also, will have a place at the table in heaven.*

“ ‘The kingdom is not meat and drink,’ says the Apostle, to show that it was of no earthly feast that he spoke; ‘but it is righteousness, and peace, and joy in the Holy Spirit,’ and he who eats such food is possessed of that kingdom. Agapè, then, is a pure thing, and worthy of God; but one of its works is the communication of the goods of life to others: it is not a supper; but the affording food to those that want it depends on agapè (charity). Let our suppers, then, be simple and speedy, such as shall leave us fit for our work, not a medley of choice dishes artfully prepared, for this last is unworthy of

it is called *ἀγάπη*, which among the Greeks signifies *love*. Whatever charge we are at, it is again to be at an expense upon the account of piety: for we therewith relieve and refresh the poor. There is nothing vile or immodest committed in it, for we do not sit down till we have first offered up prayer to God; we eat only to satisfy hunger; and drink only so much as becomes modest persons. We fill ourselves in such a manner as that we remember we are to worship God by night.”—Abuses afterwards crept in, and the practice was abandoned. It is of this kind of feast that St. Paul speaks, 1 Cor. xi. 20, where he reproves the people for their greediness, each considering his *own* supper only, till the whole became an indecorous display of selfish gluttony. “One goes hungry,” he says, “and another is drunken,” or filled.

* ἡ ἐπουράνιος σύωχία. Among the Greeks a table was spread for the public on certain festival days, and this was called *σύωχία*.

persons under the discipline of our Tutor; since the excess beyond a sufficient nourishment, deteriorates the man both in soul and body. How foolish and unreasonable it is in those who are present at dinners of the people, to wonder and admire, after having known the luxuries of the Logos, . . . how useless it is to rise from the couches, to peep into the dishes, looking out like young birds from the nest; . . . how idiotic to thrust the hands into the sweet sauces, or continually to be stretching them out to clutch at the viands, not to taste, but as it were to devour without measure or manners! By their voracity we might suppose such persons hogs or dogs rather than men: in their eagerness filling both cheeks, and swelling the veins in their faces, till the perspiration flows down, and they are breathless, and oppressed with excess. . . . It is against these persons, who show such an unseemly eagerness in their meals, that the Apostle directs his reproof, saying, 'Every one is pre-occupied with his own dinner whilst he is eating, and one goes without, and another is full. Have ye not houses to eat and drink in? or do you despise the church of God, and cast contempt on those who are poor?' For these inordinate eaters at the table of the rich cast contempt on themselves. Both do evil: on the one hand, they who tempt their poorer brethren to excess; on the other hand, they who lay open their own intemperance in the sight of their entertainer. It was needful, then, to reprove these unblushing persons, who enjoyed these dinners with so little discretion and modesty; and the Apostle adds, in much displeasure, 'Wherefore, my brethren, when you come together to eat, wait for each other; and if any one is hungry, let him eat at home, that he may not come under an ill judgment.' It is proper, therefore,

to abstain from any servile* and intemperate habit, keeping the hands, and the couches, and the beard clean, and preserving a proper decorum of the face in eating and drinking, reaching out the hands in proper order, and at due intervals. Speaking whilst eating is to be avoided, for the voice is unintelligible and unpleasant while the mouth is full. . . Neither is it proper to eat and drink at the same time, for it is a great sign of intemperance to confound the proper seasons for each, and we are told, 'whether we eat or drink, to do all to the glory of God,' proposing to ourselves a true humility in all things. It appears to me indeed that the Lord hinted at something of what I have been saying, when he blessed the bread and broiled fish, with which he feasted the disciples ;

* This word affords a clue to the object in view through this part of the chapter, which sounds so strange to our ears : *δολοπρεπεια*, *slave-manners*, was used to express any very great impropriety of behavior ; but is especially applicable here, many of the first Christians being slaves, and therefore unaccustomed to those decencies of life which Clement is here inculcating. The hard fare to which they were accustomed made them of course eager to profit by the liberality now first experienced, and we find the givers of the feast blamed for tempting them into gluttony, by setting unwonted delicacies before them. The influence of Christianity in bettering the condition of the Pariah races of the countries where it was preached, was already beginning to be felt : the next step was to be made by civilizing the unfortunate people who, till then, had been left in hopeless degradation. The anxiety of the good Clement, to make his humble converts behave themselves like gentlemen, is amusing : but the lesson was not without its use ; for the slave learned probably for the first time, in these lessons, to feel his dignity as a man. *Δύλας και δούλας μὴ ὑπερηφάνει*. "Do not despise slaves, either male or female," says Ignatius, "neither let the slaves on their part be vainly puffed up, but for the glory of God serve so much the better, by how much the greater liberty they have received from God. Let them not seek to be freed from common service, lest they should be found slaves to their own desires."—Ignat. Ep. Pol. § 4.

giving them thus an example of a simple and easily obtained nourishment. But this is not the time for these considerations; we have merely taken advantage of the present occasion to mention these things, that the chosen plants of the Logos may have their proper nurture, 'for though all is lawful to me, all is not expedient,' for they who always push their liberty to its utmost extent, will soon be tempted to go beyond it; and as justice is not likely to consort long with covetousness, so wise self-government is not acquired by intemperance. . . . And indeed those sorts of food are the most fit which can be used as they are, without the preparation of fire, for they are of readier attainment when wanted, and as I said before, a frugal table is desirable; for those who are luxurious in their food, nourishing their own morbid appetites, put themselves under the guidance of a gluttonous dæmon, which I do not scruple to call the dæmon of the belly, which is of all dæmons the worst and most ruinous: for such a person is like them whom we call ventriloquists; the belly, not the mouth, speaks. Indeed, Matthew the Apostle used only grain and fruit, berries and herbs, without any meat; and John the Baptist was yet more abstemious. Peter too abstained from swine's flesh till warned by the vision which bade him think nothing unclean which God had sanctified; nevertheless, the use of these things is indifferent, for 'not that which goeth into the mouth defileth the man,' but the taking it intemperately. . . . The middle way is best, as in all other things, so especially in the preparation of our meals, for extreme heights offer but an unstable footing, and we stand safest on common ground; and this common ground is, not to be deprived of necessary things; for natural appetites are kept

within their proper bounds by affording them sufficient gratification.

C. 2. “‘Use a little wine for thy stomach’s sake,’ says the apostle to Timothy, for it is good to bring the help of an astringent to a languid constitution: but in small quantity, lest, instead of benefiting, it should be found to produce a fullness which would render other remedies needful: since the natural drink for a thirsty man is water, and this simple beverage alone was supplied from the cleft rock by the Lord, for the use of the Hebrews of old; for sobriety is especially necessary to wanderers. This is it which is meant by drinking the blood of Jesus, namely, that we participate in the incorruption of the Lord: for the strength of the Logos is, to the spirit, what the blood is to the flesh, the wine is mixed with water, the spirit with the man; and this mixture feasts our bodies in faith, while the spirit leads us on to incorruption; again, the compound of both, of the wine and the Logos, is called the Eucharist, namely an excellent and highly to be praised grace, whose partakers according to faith, are made excellent both in body and soul. The paternal will mystically mingling with the Spirit and the Logos produced the divine mixture, man; for in truth the Spirit dwells in the soul which is guided by him, and the flesh is no less guided by the Logos, on which account also the Logos was made flesh.

“ I admire those who have chosen an austere life, and desire no other beverage than water, the medicine of a wise temperance, avoiding wine as they would the fire. I am, therefore, of opinion that it is desirable young men and maidens should, for the most part, forego this medicament (wine) altogether; for to drink wine during the boiling season of youth, is adding fire to fire: and hence arise irregular de-

sires, and licentious conduct; for the circulation is hastened, the veins swelled, and the whole body excited before its time, by the action of wine on the system. The body inflames the soul, and it follows thus the guidance of the pulse, which impels to unlawful license, till very soon the fermenting liquor of youth overflows the bounds of modesty. It is needful then to endeavor to restrain the undue appetites of young men by taking from them the incitements of Bacchus, and rather administering antidotes which should act as a sedative to the soul, and allay restless desires. Those who require a mid-day meal, may eat bread, altogether without wine, and if thirsty, let them satisfy themselves with water only. In the evening, at supper, when our studies are over, and the air is cooler, wine may be used without harm perhaps, for it will but restore the lost warmth: but even then it should be taken very sparingly, until the chills of age have made it a useful medicine: and it is for the most part best to mix it with water, in which state it conduces most to health.”—A description of the evils of drunkenness follows here, which need not be inserted, since, alas! even after the lapse of nearly seventeen centuries, the vice is still common enough to make its consequences but too well known.—“Well then has the apostle said, ‘Be not drunk with wine, in which is a shameful licentiousness;’ he seems to signify the impossibility of salvation (*σωτηρία*) to drunkenness, by the word *ἀσωτεία*, which, in Greek, means equally luxury, and an incapacity for salvation. And even if our Lord changed water into wine at the marriage feast, he did not permit excess: for as we take food to prevent hunger, so we should drink only what is wanted to quench thirst; or in winter to give the needful circulation to the blood, if it become too

languid. But for this what need to ask for Chian wine, if it be not at hand, or that of Ariusium, or any of those which are fetched from beyond sea, to satisfy a pampered palate? Is not the production of our own country good enough? and in this too a decorous conduct should be observed: not looking greedily at the liquor beforehand, nor drawing it in with open mouth, nor spilling it on the chin, nor on the vestments, in the hasty swallowing; nor wetting the face in the drinking cups by too much eagerness, nor making a guggling sound in the throat, like the pouring out of water from a narrow-necked vessel, for all this is indecorous and unpleasant to witness. Add to this that the love of drink is hurtful to the person himself. The Scythians, Celts, Iberians and Thracians drink much, being altogether warlike nations; but we, who are a peaceable race, take our meals for the satisfying of our wants, not for the sake of exciting passions; and drink soberly in friendly meetings. How do you imagine the Lord was wont to drink when for our sakes he was made man? Do you think it was in such an unseemly fashion as we do? Do you not suppose it was politely—elegantly—reasonably? for we know that he too did partake of wine, since he too was a man: and he blessed the wine, saying, “take, drink, this is my blood:”—the blood of the vine—for he allegorically calls the Logos, which was poured out for the taking away of sins, the holy fountain of joy. And from what he so clearly taught respecting entertainments, we may learn, that even he who drinks wine, should do so with wise moderation; for it was no drunkard that taught us our lesson; yet that he was wont to drink wine is clear from the reproach of the Jews, ‘behold a glutton and a wine-bibber.’”

C. 3. "Cups of gold and silver set out with precious stones are useless, and only made to please the eye: for if you would drink warm liquids out of them, the heat of the metal makes the handling them inconvenient; if cold, the quality of the vessel spoils the liquor, and thus the drink of the rich man becomes unwholesome. These precious vases, therefore, which are both rare to be acquired and difficult to be kept, after all are not good for use. And the art of the carver, exhibited with a vain pride in glass, which is only rendered thereby more apt to break, is to be put away from among us. Silver sofas, silver basins and saucers, plates and dishes, beds of choice woods decorated with tortoise-shell and gold, with coverlets of purple and costly stuffs, are to be relinquished in like manner; for as the apostle says, the time is short, and it remains that both they that have wives be as though they had none, and they that buy as though they possessed not. For this cause also the Lord hath said 'Sell what thou hast, and give to the poor, and come, follow me.' That is, follow the Lord stripped of all ostentation, stripped of all perishable pomp: what is really thine is goodness:—the only thing which cannot be taken from thee, is, faith in God, and confession of him that suffered—the most precious possession is, benevolence towards thy fellow-men. I therefore applaud Plato, who, when treating of laws, openly condemns such useless luxuries. If the vessel be of earth, will it not be equally useful for ablution? Shall we rest the worse, because our bed is not of ivory, or our coverlets tinted with Tyrian dyes? See now! The Lord ate from an humble dish; and reclined with his disciples on the grass; and washed their feet girded with a towel; the un-

proud* God and Lord of all things brought no silver foot-bath from heaven for his use;—when he asked for water from the Samaritan woman, he demanded no regal vase of gold to drink from. . . . In fine, our food, our clothing, our utensils, or whatever else may belong to our domestic economy, should be conformable to the Christian institutions, so that they may be such as will become, and are suited to the person, the time of life, the profession, and the period.”

C. 4. “Far be from our rational social meetings the miscalled gaieties and facetiæ of the heathen, who are wont to excite the passions by wine, and lascivious songs, and dancing . . . all these things should be dismissed from our sober feasts . . . all indecent sights and sounds, or, to speak briefly, all excesses and intemperance of the senses; for such excesses are, in fact, a privation of them, as far as regards their true use. We should, therefore, take care to avoid all effeminate pleasures, all tickling of the eyes and ears by licentious arts;—the music that fills our thoughts should be the trump that will raise the dead, and our lyre should be a voice singing praises to God; for man himself is the truest musical instrument for those who love peace. Those, indeed, who are curious in such things, will find many kinds of music suited for different occasions;—for war, and for awakening the passions, whether of love or rage. Thus the Tyrrhenes in war use the trumpet, the Arcadians the pipe of Pan, the Sicilians the pipe called *πηκτις*, the Cretans the lyre, the Lacedæmonians the flute, the Thracians the horn, and the Arabs the cymbals: but we use one instrument only,—the peaceful word wherewith we render homage to God.

* *ὁ ἀτυφός*. The coinage of an expressive word to translate this may be forgiven, for we have none that will fully render it.

..... Our drinking together for friendship, then, should be of a twofold nature, according to our law: for if thou lovest the Lord thy God, and thy neighbor as thyself, let thy first social feast be with God, through the Eucharist, accompanied by psalmody;—the second with thy neighbor for the keeping up of friendship through an innocent and chaste familiarity. Thus the Apostle bids us let the Logos of the Lord dwell abundantly in us; for this Logos is conformable to times, to persons, and to places, and on such occasions is the companion of our wine cups also; so that thus all things may be sanctified to the glory of God, and the good of man: therefore let us put away from our feasts the unseemly excesses of drunken pleasures, the scattering of flowers, and the lascivious songs and music of unchaste women.

C. 5. "Mimics and buffoons*" should find no place in our polity; for since words are the expression of the mind and manners, it is impossible that any one should speak ridiculously unless his mind and habits are ridiculous and frivolous also: for 'the tree is not good which bears bad fruit, nor bad if it bear good fruit,' and words are the fruit of the mind. If, therefore, we exclude those who make this their trade from our society, much more must we abstain from becoming buffoons ourselves; for it would be absurd indeed to imitate the impudence which we are forbidden to listen to or witness. . . . We should never willingly make ourselves ridiculous: for how can we without blame study thus to abuse the peculiar and most precious gift of man—even reason and speech?—for it is so that through shameless words, men arrive at shameless actions.

* Those who wish to know the kind of persons here alluded to, will find such a character depicted in Xenophon's Banquet.

Let our speech, then, be elegant, and graced with wit, but without buffoonery; and our manners refined, not licentious; for to speak briefly, no one can or ought to extirpate the feelings and needs which belong to our animal nature, but they should be duly regulated, and indulged in the proper time and place. It is not because man is a laughing animal, that he is to be always laughing, any more than the horse is always neighing, though to neigh be natural to him. But neither, on the other hand, should we be melancholy and unsocial, though grave. I prefer him, indeed, whose gravity is occasionally lighted by smiles, since his laugh will never degenerate into unhandsome mirth; and if anything unseemly come before him, he will blush rather than smile, showing thereby no sympathy in what is evil: and if he hear of misfortune, he will appear sad rather than pleased at it, for this first is the mark of a wise and humane man, while the latter is that of a cruel and ill nature."

C. 6. "All indecent speech should not only be banished from our own society, but discouraged in others, by sternness of countenance, by turning away the face, by severe derision, and often by yet sharper words. For HE hath said, "Those things which go out of the mouth defile the man," and show him to be a vulgar, untaught, licentious heathen, not, as is proper to man, well-mannered and sober-minded. And since vice corrupts by the hearing and the sight, the Divine Tutor, like the masters of the palæstra, who place a guard over the ears of the youths lest they should be injured, places the guard of sober words over the ears of his pupils, that nothing entering there may hurt the soul, or convey to it the vibration of licentious sounds; and the sight he directs to the contemplation of proper objects, saying, it is better to fall by the feet than the eyes. And the

Apostle, reprobating all immodest language, says, 'Let no indelicate word proceed out of your mouth, but rather what is good,' . . . for it is written, 'by thy words wilt thou be justified, and by thy words wilt thou be condemned.' And what then are these defences for the ears, and these securities for the wandering eyes? It is the conversation of good men, which pre-occupies the ground, and leaves no room for those who wish to mislead. 'Evil communications corrupt good manners,' says the poet;* and the Apostle expresses it in yet stronger terms. 'Hold evil in abhorrence,' says he, 'but stick close to the good.' Turn away, then, from every immodest sound, and word, and sight; and much more does it become you, to be pure from every immodest action, whether in exposing the body indecently, or seeking such sights. For this is the reason, it seems to me, that our Tutor permits us no indelicate language, that temptation to incontinence may be removed as far as possible, thus cutting up with a strong hand the very roots of evil, and forbidding not only the sin, but the inclination to it. And it is not in the mention of these things that the indelicacy lies, when they are mentioned but to be reprobated: neither are the members of the body in themselves indecent; but the ill use we make of them renders them so, and hence we rightly call only that language indecent which dwells pleasurably on circumstances of evil."

C. 7. "Far, far be it from us to mock any one, for from this arise strifes, and fightings, and enmities. We hold that such scorns are the companions of drunkenness: and it is well said,† 'do not argue

* Menander.

† Ecclus. xxxi. 31.

with your neighbor at a feast, neither speak any uncivil word towards him,' for if the invitation to these meetings be given out of kindly feeling, the object of the feast is the promotion of friendship among the guests, and a mental grace thus attends the satisfaction of the bodily appetite. If then we meet for the promotion of good-will towards each other, how is it that buried enmities are dug up again by scornful jests? Better is it to be silent than to contradict, since by this last we run the hazard of adding sin to ill manners. . . . On the whole I advise, that young people of both sexes should absent themselves from such banquets,* in order that they may not fall into improprieties; for the unusual things they hear, and the improper sights presented to them on such occasions, while as yet their faith is fluctuating, and their very age prevents firmness of character, tend to make their declension towards vice more likely. Well does the wise man say, 'Do not sit with a married woman, nor recline upon thine elbow beside her'—that is, do not frequent suppers, nor eat often with her; for, he adds, 'neither meet with her in wine parties, lest thy heart incline to her, and thy blood push thee to destruction.' And if a woman be invited, so that there is a necessity that she should go, then let her make her outward vestment a decent and modest covering, and within it carry an equal modesty in her heart. But for single women, it is an extreme disgrace to be present at a banquet of men in a state of intoxication."

The writer goes on to give minute directions for a decent and proper behavior in company, recommending quiet and reserved manners; and depre-

* i. e. Those of the heathen, or where the practices of the heathen were allowed.

cating all eagerness about food, all boisterous laughter or rude speech, through a long chapter which shows sufficiently the refinement of manners which formed a part of the character of the Christian in his opinion: a notion apparently taken up* from the contemplation of the politeness and refinement, joined with a noble simplicity, which characterized the manners of that perfect pattern of what man should be, which was then fresh in the recollection of all.

Space will not allow of larger extracts from this part: enough perhaps has been given to show that he who practises Christianity, such as it was when fresh from the lips and example of its Teacher, will want no factitious rules of politeness;—the perfect Christian is the perfect gentleman also;—and the world has allowed this by the set of rules it has established as to manners, which teach men to attain by art and habit, what they would find to result naturally from that admiration and imitation of their Great Exemplar, which it was his object on earth to secure. He came to raise man to a higher state of being, and the refinement and spiritualization of the mind produces a correspondent refinement of manners.

C. 8. Is devoted to the reproof of excessive luxury in perfumes and garlands of flowers. It appears that it was the custom to perfume not only the garments, the hair, and the skin, but also the house, beds, and utensils of all kinds: while the fields he says were stripped of flowers to form garlands that withered on the head, and by their excessive odor almost stupefied the senses.

C. 9. Forbids a no less excessive luxury in the construction of beds, which appear to have been

* See l. ii. c. 2.

made of carved ivory, with silver feet, in curious imitation of animals or reptiles; to which were added coverlets embroidered with gold, and every other costly ornament which the wealth of a great commercial city was likely to bring into use. All this the Christian was to forego, satisfying himself with the requisite sleep and food, without being anxious for the body; but rather "keeping the mind intent upon God . . . that man may attain to the grace bestowed on the angels, spending the hours stolen from sleep in striving after life eternal."

C. 10. Treats of marriage—"its purpose is the bringing forth of children, but its main object (*τέλος*) is the bringing up of *good* children." Marriage therefore is to be contracted with a view to the glory of God and the happiness of man, by multiplying the number of heirs to immortality: not from motives of interest or sensuality, and when contracted is to be truly and virtuously observed.

C. 11 and 12. Enjoin moderation in dress.

BOOK III.

C. 1. TREATS of true beauty.—"It appears to me that the greatest and best of all learning is the knowledge of ourselves; for if any one arrive at knowing himself, he will know God also; and he who knows God, endeavors to resemble him: not wearing gold and long vestments; but doing good and keeping his bodily wants in small compass For the man with whom the Logos is a fellow lodger, is become like God; and is fair without striving to appear

so. This is real beauty. Heracleitus said truly, 'Men are gods, gods, men;' and this mystery is made clear in the Logos, for God was in man and man was God, and the will of the Father perfects the internuntius, namely the Logos, who is common to both.* The Son of God, the Saviour of men; the minister of the one, the teacher of the other. And the flesh being in servitude, as Paul testifies, how can we ornament the slave? . . . But the sympathizing God himself set free the flesh from the slavery of corruption and death, bestowing on it the gift of incorruption, and ornamenting it with the beauty of eternity, even immortality. And another beauty of man is love (*ἀγάπη*), for love, according to the Apostle, 'suffereth long and is kind, envieth not, is not rash, is not puffed up, doth not behave itself unseemly, seeketh not its own.'†

C. 2. "It is not therefore the outward appearance of man, but the soul that should be beautified with the ornament of goodness: indeed it may be said that the flesh also should have the ornament of temperance. Women who are anxious for a fair exterior, and leave the interior uncultivated, try to conceal the ugliness of their souls after the fashion of the Egyptians; among whom you find temples with porticos, and vestibules, and sacred groves;—and their halls are surrounded with numberless columns, and the walls are resplendent with foreign stones and skillful paintings, and the temples are

* I have not dared to do more than *translate* these words: the sense appears to be that the Logos being perfect God joined to perfect man, he stood between the two worlds, making God's will manifest to men, which could only be known by means of human speech:—and giving man, in turn, a resting-place for his mind, whence he might address God.

† 1 Cor. xiii. 4. 8.

brilliant with gold and silver and amber, and many-colored gems from India and Æthiopia, and the adyta are shaded with gold-embroidered hangings;—but if you go into the deep interior of the place, and eagerly seek to see what you suppose will be most worth your attention,—the statue which occupies the temple:—a priest of grave aspect, from among those who sacrifice in the holy place, singing a pæan in the Egyptian tongue, lifts the veil a little, as if to show the God; and then there is much room for laughter at the deity honored; for you will not find the God that you are seeking within, but a cat, or a crocodile, or a serpent of the country, or some such animal; unworthy of the temple, but fitted for a cavern, or a den, or a marsh; you see the beast rolling upon purple coverlets, and this is the god of the Egyptians. Those women, therefore, who cover themselves with gold, and exercise themselves in curling their hair, and anointing their cheeks, and penciling their eyes, and twisting their locks, and all the other ill arts of idleness, to ornament the fleshly case, appear to me to be true Egyptians in their proceedings; they attract superstitious lovers, but when the veil of the temple is lifted, I mean the fillets and the vestments, the gold, the paint, and the ceruse;—that is, the covering which is made of these, as if there were true beauty within—all is abominable I well know. You will not there find the image of God placed in the sanctuary, as is fitting, but an adulterous soul inhabits the adytum, and shows itself the real beast; the ape daubed white,—and the old seducing serpent, corroding the mind by the love of admiration, has the soul for its cavern, and fills it with poison and as cataplasms and ointments usually announce to us that the person is ill who is thus treated, so the medica-

ments and coverings above mentioned, indicate the sickness of the soul. for them are needful the theatre, and public processions, and abundance of gazers, and they must loiter through the temples, and walk in the streets, so that they may be seen by all. Such persons take a pride in an appearance that shall captivate the eyes of others, not in the right affections of the heart."

C. 3. The writer reproveth the passion for ornament in the male sex also, which among the Greeks had long been carried to great excess. It may be here noticed, once for all, that the practices of the heathen were such as, thanks to the purifying influences of Christianity, we now shrink from even the mention of: and if the stern reproof of the ambassador on Christ's behalf touch upon subjects which the refinement of modern manners has banished from any expression in words, let us not condemn the preacher who lashed the vices of paganism with the severity that they deserved, and won men to Christ by the contrast he presented to their minds between the impurities then in daily practice, and the purity of Christianity;—but rather thank God, who by his presence on earth, first checked the foul disease of society;—and next to God, those fearless martyrs who scrupled not to hold up before emperors and proconsuls, a faithful picture of their manners. The wide difference between the state of things now and then, affords the best comment on their labors; for vice now hides itself from the public gaze, and no longer intrudes itself upon the innocent.

C. 4. Follows up the subject; and the writer points out the persons whose society was to be avoided, in order to the preservation of Christian purity. It affords a frightful picture of the state of society, disgusting indeed to the reader, but not

without its value, even now; for it shows us what we have been rescued from, and affords fresh ground of thankfulness for that heavenly love which condescended to show man what he might and should be. The allusions constantly made by the fathers of the first and second centuries to Christ as *a man*, amiable, polished and attractive in his manners, testify sufficiently to the influence of the example during the period when his actual human life was remembered, even traditionally. It were to be wished that we still pictured to ourselves the individual *man* whom God himself made our "ensample," more than that mysterious Logos which seems to have especially chosen a human form for the purpose of communication with man, in order that finite faculties might not be overpowered by the contemplation of the Infinite. The human nature of Christ is needful to man as a stepping-stone by which to approach God, and we should use it as such.

C. 5. Relates to the use of the bath, and condemns the common heathen practice which allowed the two sexes to bathe together.

C. 6 and 7. Show that the Christian is rich in all that constitutes man's best wealth, and recommend a prudent frugality.

C. 8, 9, 10. Continue the same subjects.

C. 11. Sums up the rules already given with regard to the common affairs of life. "The use of gold ornaments and soft ointments," says the writer, "is not to be wholly proscribed; but in that, as in all else, a due moderation is to be observed; curbing these irrational tastes lest they should lead us into a life of luxury, to the neglect of better things." "But it will be said, 'we are not all philosophers'—do you then not seek after life either? what is it you mean? or how is it that you believe? How can any

one love God and his neighbor without being a philosopher in the best sense of the word? or how can he love himself without also loving life? But he will say 'I have not learned letters;' but even if you have not learned to read, this does not hinder you from learning by hearing; for faith is not the profession of the learned in the wisdom of this world only, but of those who are wise according to God; for this is a learning which requires no letters; and its book, which is at once divine, and intelligible to the most ignorant, is called LOVE. . . . There is nothing to hinder the administering the affairs of this world at once handsomely and according to the will of God; as, for instance, he who buys or sells must never make use of two prices, but should be careful to speak the truth. . . . Let not him who sells swear to the goodness of his wares, and let him avoid oaths also in other things; and in this the market man and the tavern-keeper may be philosophers, for it is written, use not the name of the Lord in vain matters, for the Lord will not hold him pure who brings his name forward on vain occasions. It is proper that both the woman and the man should come into the church decently dressed; with no studied steps; in silence, and with a mind trained to real benevolence; chaste in body; chaste in heart; fitted to pray to God. Furthermore, it is right that the woman should be veiled, save when she is at home; for this is respectable and avoids offence. And it is desirable not to adopt these manners for the occasion merely, but to imitate during the whole of life the conduct of those whom Christ has made perfect, and be really, and not in appearance only, gentle, and reverend, and kind. Now, I know not how, the manners and appearance seem to change with the place, as polypi are said to change color according to the stones they

are fixed on; and those persons who have seemed devout while in the place of congregation, put away their apparent change of manners when they leave it, and assimilate themselves to the multitude with whom they are in daily intercourse; or rather, they are to be accused of having put on a feigned holiness, hiding their real disposition: and thus those who have heard the word of God with a show of reverence, leave what they have heard behind them when they quit the place, and resume the evil habits of the heathen."

C. 12. Proves the foregoing rules of conduct from passages of Scripture, and concludes with the following prayer, "Be propitious to thine own children, O Master! Father! Charioteer of Israel! Son and Father both one! Lord! Give to us that follow thy commands, that we may be filled with the likeness of the image, and feel the power of the good God, of the mild Judge! and grant that those whose lives are guided according to thy peace, may be placed in thy city, and sailing over the rolling waves of sin, may be borne quietly on by thy Holy Spirit with the wisdom which is ineffable:—nightly, after the day is past, till the perfect day again, giving thanks and praising, praising and giving thanks, to the One Father and Son, Son and Father, Tutor and Teacher Son, with the Holy Spirit; for which One all things exist, in whom are all things, through which One are all things, through whom is eternity, of whom we all are members, for whose honor are all ages. The Good in all things—the Fair in all things—the Wise in all things—the Just in all things. To whom be honor now and forever. Amen."

STROMATA.—BOOK I.

HAVING treated at length on the conduct to be observed by the new converts to Christianity through all the affairs of life, the writer next proceeds to trace the character of what he calls the *γνωστὸς*, or perfect Christian: of one, namely, who, having long endeavored to regulate his life by the precepts of his Lord, has step by step advanced to a complete amalgamation of his own pleasure, and will, and intentions, with those of the Divine Person in whose steps he has been treading, and thus may be said to possess the key of true science. Other things are mentioned incidentally, and the writer shows, by a reference to the ancient systems of philosophy, that the light afforded to the Gentiles as well as the Jews, was of the kind best calculated to prepare them for that more perfect dispensation, which, affording to all the assurance of what till then had been but hopes, was to finish the civilization of the world; so that, thenceforward, the knowledge and refinement which had seemed to be the privilege of the few, might become the birthright of the many. He thus explains the purport of his work.

C. 1. "I am not unaware of the things that are murmured among some ignorantly timid persons, who say that it is incumbent on us to apply simply to the matters pertaining to the faith, but that external and superfluous things—i. e. Gentile learning—are to be passed over, for that it is vain to trouble ourselves with what is useless towards our great object. These consider philosophy to be the pest of

life, and think it was discovered by some evil mind for the bane of men; I, on the contrary, think that ill weeds cannot be sown by a good husbandman, and in these books which I term *Stromata*, I shall show that there are abundant indications of (the divine) origin of Philosophy.”

C. 2. “With regard to the works of those who, according to the necessity of the times, had embraced the Greek opinions, I thus reply to the lovers of objection. Whether philosophy be useful or not, it is at least useful to have some firm opinion on the subject; and therefore the study is not without its value: neither can the Greeks be fairly condemned by those who have merely glanced over their writings, since they cannot be understood by any who have not carefully perused them, and unveiled, as it were, the science there taught. For amid their many modes of teaching, their disciples were at least led towards true principles; nor can that philosophy be pernicious, as some contend, by which it is clear that the image of truth—that divine gift—was bestowed upon the Greeks.”

C. 5. “Indeed, before the coming of the Lord, philosophy was needful to the Greeks for the purification of their lives, (*εἰς δικαιοσύνην*), and even now it is useful towards piety, as supplying a rudimentary teaching for those who may afterwards receive the faith upon conviction. For God is indeed the cause of all good things: of some pre-eminently and immediately, as of the old and new covenant: of others mediately, by means of reason and argument; as philosophy, which probably he gave to the Greeks before the Lord himself came, in order to call them also to his service. For philosophy acted the part of a schoolmaster to the Greeks, as the Mosaic law did to the Jews, for the purpose of bringing men to Christ;

thus preparing the way for such as were to be farther perfected by him. We know that the way of truth is one only; but into it, as into a great river, many streams flow from different quarters."

C. 7. "It appears, therefore, that the Greek rudimentary instructions came from heaven to man: not, indeed, as I said before, pre-eminently and immediately; but as the showers which fall from heaven light on all parts but cause the growth of very different plants—in some cherishing the produce of a good soil, in others causing a vegetation which soon dries up—so it may be conceived of this. And here the parable of the sower is useful to us: for there is one spiritual husbandman for the human field, who from the foundation of the world sows good seed in it, and who waters it according to the various periods, with the Lord, the Logos: but at different times and seasons the crop is different; for the husbandman does not sow wheat alone,—there being many sorts of useful grain,—but it may be barley, or beans, or peas, or seeds of garden vegetables and flowers. So also may the art of the agriculturist be bestowed in the raising of forest or fruit trees, or in the feeding of different kinds of cattle; the arts differ; but are all, in their various ways, useful to life. Thus, therefore, it is in philosophy,—I do not speak of this or that sect merely,—whatever is taught, by all or any of them, that conduces to piety and wisdom, I term divine; not that part of it which consists of logical questions and paradoxes. . . . The roads to righteousness are many and various, for God, being good, saves in many different ways. If indeed thou wouldst ask the royal and authentic road, thou mayst hear, 'This is the gate of the Lord, the righteous may enter therein,' for though many gates be open, this peculiar one is unlocked by Christ himself, and

blessed are they who are able to enter it, and direct their steps towards well understood holiness (ἐσοσιότητι γνωστικῇ).”

C. 9. “Some indeed who think themselves well gifted naturally, will not so much as touch philosophy or dialectics, but not choosing to learn anything from the study of nature, require to have the single and naked faith: as if one should scorn the culture of the vine, determined to have only the grapes. Yet the Lord makes the vine an allegory; from it, by care, and the art of the husbandman wisely bestowed, the fruit is to be obtained; it must be dug, and cultivated, and tied, and pruned; and after employing all the tools and the art of the husbandman, we obtain a good crop. And if it be said that the prophets and apostles did not know the arts by which philosophy exercises the mind, it must be recollected that they were taught by the prophetic spirit telling them hidden things; because as quickness of perception is not given to all, it was necessary, for the clearness of their teaching, that they should themselves be instructed. . . . What say these objectors, then? That it is proper to speak and act without reason? * we shall act unreasonably then; but all rational acts are done through God, ‘and nothing was done without him,’ it is said; namely, nothing was done without the Logos (reason) of God. And did not the Lord do all according to reason? (λόγῳ.) Beasts indeed work, compelled to it by fear; but do those whom we call orthodox, proceed in good works without knowing what they are doing?”

C. 10. After recommending a decent attention to rhetoric, so as to be able to expound the truth effectually, but cautioning his readers, at the same time,

* εὐχί . . . ἐν τῷ λόγῳ γίνεσθαι; a play upon the word Logos.

against the endless arts of the sophists, he adds, that "speech is but as the vestment of the body, actions are the bones and the nerves . . . the Gnostic therefore will be satisfied if he finds even one willing to listen to him and profit by his teaching."

C. 13. "If then, however numerous the modes of error, the truth be but one, we may imagine the different sects of philosophy, as well barbarian as Greek, seizing on it as the Bacchantes seized on Pentheus, and, having torn it piecemeal, each carrying off a part, and then vaunting itself of possessing the whole. Yet I think the dawn of that light in the east illuminated them all; for it may be shown that all who were eager for the truth, whether Greeks or barbarians, did in fact carry off, some not a little, of that word of truth which they sought . . . the fragments of which being again united, the perfect Logos, or Truth, is then securely seen and known: for he who can properly be called a Gnostic (i. e., well-instructed Christian) must be well imbued with all knowledge."

C. 17. "But say some, it is written that all teachers before the coming of the Lord were thieves and robbers: yet the prophets who were of old time sent and inspired by the Lord, were not robbers, but ministers. But philosophy, say they, was not sent by the Lord, but stole what it taught. But do we not say that he who having power to prevent a robbery, permits it, is in some sort the cause of it? Now nothing can be an obstacle to God, or oppose itself to Him; for He is the Lord and Ruler of all things; and those, even, who may be partly in apostacy from Him, are made use of by his providence, as the physician uses diseases, curing perhaps an inflammation by a blister. Thus the Providence which is over the whole prevents the acts done by man's free-will

from being sources of harm, or even useless towards good: for the wisdom, and excellence, and power of the Deity are not seen alone in his doing good, for that may be said to be as much the nature of God, as it is that of fire to warm, or of light to illuminate; but chiefly in this, that the things which are devised for evil by the ill-intentioned, are caused by him to finish in what is good and useful; and thus he makes that serviceable, which at first appeared useless, or bad. Thus even if philosophy should have been stolen by a theft, like that of Prometheus, it has in it some spark of fire ready for kindling a light from the embers,—a track of Divine Wisdom to mark the way towards God.”

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BOOK II.

C. 2. “THE philosophy of the barbarians* which we follow, is in fact the perfect and true system: in it is included the contemplation of nature, and of all that passes in the world of sensible objects, as well as what is purely intellectual. Its doctrines, accompanied by a rightly ordered polity and discipline, lead us, through that wisdom which is the artificer of all things, towards the Great Ruler of the universe; who is indeed difficult to be apprehended, and hard to be searched out, since he seems always to be receding from our senses as we advance, and always to be at a distance from the pursuer. Yet He, being thus

* The reader need hardly be reminded that all who were not Greeks were termed *barbarians* by the Greek writers.

afar off, voluntarily approaches us:—an inexpressible wonder! ‘I am a God near at hand, saith the Lord’—far off indeed as to his nature, for how can the created approach the uncreated? but near by his power, which embraces all things. ‘If any one doeth a secret thing,’ says he, ‘do not I, the Lord, see it?’ He is present to us in the overlooking, beneficent, instructing power which, as it were, leads us by the hand; even the power of God. Wherefore Moses, persuaded that God could never be thoroughly known by human wisdom, said ‘Show me thyself’—and forced himself to enter into the darkness where was the voice of God: that is, into the hidden and mysterious knowledge of the Self-existent. But the place of God is not in the darkness, but beyond all place, and time, or any property of created things: dwelling in no part, neither contained, nor circumscribed. ‘How will ye build a house for me? saith the Lord’—for he is boundless; and the heavens are called his throne, not because he is there, but because his benevolence rests with pleasure upon his work. It is evident, then, that the truth is veiled; yet one specimen of it being shown, that one will soon guide us to more: how indeed should those not receive it who are both able and willing to learn? and he who has before acquired wisdom, will, through this knowledge,* become wiser; for it is not the drossy ore of reason that is propounded by the words and the men inspired by God, neither do they twine nets to entangle the young, like the sophists; who, after all, are unable to teach anything of real truth; for they who possess the Holy Spirit investigate the deep things of God. But it is not for those whose

* *κατὰ τὴν γνῶσιν* by the gnosis, or last stage of Christian initiation.

lives are ill regulated, to drink of that pure fountain of living water. Well did the excellent Heracleitus say that 'there are many who neither know what is passing within themselves, nor, when taught, become wiser, otherwise than in their own conceit,—and does not the philosopher seem here to blame the unbeliever? The faith which the Greeks call barbarian, and accuse of being empty and vain, is a voluntary devotion of the mind to unseen things;* the full assent of piety, 'the foundation (ὑποστάσις) of things hoped for; the argumentative proof (ἔλεγχος) of things not seen,' as says the divine apostle. . . . Since then we make a choice when we find a thing desirable, the desire for it is an act of the mind, and is in fact an appetite of the intellect:—and if a free choice be the great principle of action in man, then faith will also be found to be an active principle. The foundation indeed of a wise choice is some previous demonstration, and it is made in consequence of our faith or belief in that demonstration; for the great principle of all prudence is willingly following some beneficial course. It is indeed of great moment to the last stage of our Christian life (εἰς γνῶσιν) to make a resolute choice: for thus the early contemplations of faith become a science fixed on an immutable foundation. Philosophers define science to be—a habit of mind firmly founded in reason; and is there any other definition of true piety, which has for its only teacher the Divine Reason? (ὁ Λόγος.) I think not."

C. 3. "But the followers of Basileides contend that faith is a natural gift; for that being the conse-

* *πρόληψις ἐκέσσιος*. This was a term well known in philosophy, particularly in the Epicurean school; *πρόληψις* is, by the Epicureans, explained to be, "the representation of unseen things to the mind." Vide Diog. Laert. in vit. Epicuri.

quence of a præelection to salvation, its teaching is without demonstration, and consists only in an intellectual comprehension. The disciples of Valentinus differ somewhat, and allowing us simple people our faith, claim for themselves, who by nature are heirs to salvation, the *γνώσις*,* or perfect knowledge, which they set as high above faith as the spiritual is above the animal. The disciples of Basileides say farther, that faith and election are the same thing; that the whole constitution of earthly faith is consequent on a supra-mundane election, and that thus the hope of every one may be regulated by the sum of faith which is bestowed upon him. But if faith be thus an advantage bestowed in our natural constitution, how can it be the good work of a free choice? and how can he who does not believe, receive a just retribution for his wilful rejection of God's truths? since he is as much without choice in the matter as the believer: and faith and unbelief, having thus no proper difference, neither can incur either praise or blame, if we rightly consider; for both are led to their conclusion by a physical necessity, guided by the overwhelming power of Him who created all things: and the inclination, which is the prime mover in all matters of choice, thus remains wholly idle. . . But, for my part, I know no animal whose internal will is thus overruled by external necessity; and if it were so, what would become of that repentance of the unbeliever through which he obtains the deliverance from his sins?"

C. 4. "But we, who have received from Scripture the doctrine that a full power of choice or rejection

* The *γνώσις* or knowledge, thus claimed, gave to this sect the title of Gnostics; they seem in the first instance to have been strong predestinarians; afterwards many strange notions respecting the Deity were added to their doctrines.

has been bestowed on us by the Lord, remain in the faith upon a steady conviction, showing that our spirit is eagerly bent on the attainment of the true life, and that we have believed the voice of God. For he who has believed the Logos, or Divine Reason, knows that the thing is true, for the Logos is truth. There are four things, indeed, in which truth may exist,—in the senses, in the mind, in science, and in opinion:—from the union of the mind and sense results science; for the same evidence is common to the mind and to the senses, and sensible things form the steps towards science: but faith, though coming by the road of the senses, leaves uncertain opinion behind; hastening forwards towards what is free from falsehood, and having reached the truth it remains firm. And if any one should say that science is demonstrable by reason, let him understand that first principles are not demonstrable, and are due neither to art nor study, but remain as necessary axioms. The principle and beginning of all things in science as well as elsewhere, must be faith—belief, that is, in some indemonstrable propositions. . . . Science, then, is a habit of demonstration; faith, a grace bestowed, which, through indemonstrable things, proceeds to the universal simple principle, which neither exists with matter, nor is matter, nor subsists in matter. Unbelievers, indeed, as it appears, would drag heaven and the invisible world down to earth, till they could handle it like stones and wood, as Plato says. For all such things they can touch; and they affirm that nothing that is without tangibility and other sensible properties, has any existence at all: defining body and existence to be the same; yet they nevertheless contradict themselves, by allowing that there is something incorporeal and per-

ceptible only by the mind, which they term species or idea."

"In like manner as, in order to learn the art of a mechanic, it is needful, not merely to wish to become a good workman, but to observe his mode of doing things, and obediently to follow his teaching; so the believing in the Logos, whom we term our Master, consists in obedience to his precepts, withstanding him in nothing: for how indeed can we withstand God? Knowledge (*γνώσις*) therefore is faith, and faith is knowledge, for by some divine arrangement they mutually lead and are led by each other, in perfect companionship. Epicurus . . . considers *πρόληψις** to be the faith of the mind; and he defines this word to mean, an application of the mind to something evident, and the understanding of the thing thus evident to us: no one can either search, or doubt, or be of any opinion, or argue a point without this previous apprehension of the subject (*χωρίς πρόληψεως*). How indeed should any one either seek or learn unless he knows beforehand that there is something to be sought or learned? But he who learns, changes this anticipation (*πρόληψιν*) into comprehension (*κατάληψιν*), and if he who learns, knows what is desirable to be learnt by means of this anticipating knowledge, he has ears capable of receiving the truth. Blessed is he then who speaks to ears capable of thus hearing, and as certainly blessed is he who is, in like manner, able to hear and to obey; for so to hear is to understand. If faith then be nothing more than this *πρόληψις* of the understanding as to the things spoken, and this be obedience; and if intelligence of the matter be persuasion; then no one learns without faith, because none can learn with-

* *πρόληψις* strictly means a *laying hold of beforehand*.

out this forefeeling ; and thus what the prophet says* is shown to be true, ‘Unless ye believe ye cannot understand;’ and thus too Heracleitus the Ephesian has paraphrased the same idea, saying, ‘Unless a man hopes, he will not find what he did not hope.’ ”

C. 6. “To will is the work of the soul ; action cannot be accomplished without the body.—Repentance† is a tardy knowledge of what is right, but the *γνώσις*, properly speaking, is innocence from the first.‡ Repentance, then, is the good work of faith, for if a man does not believe that to be sin by which he was at first held captive, he will not endeavor to get free ; and if he does not believe punishment to hang over the transgressor,—salvation to be the portion of him who lives according to the Divine precepts,—neither will he alter. For hope springs from faith. The followers of Basileides define faith to be the consent of the soul to something which does not move the sense, because it is not present. But hope is the expectation of possession, and faith also is necessarily expectation ; but he is the believer who keeps, without transgressing, the things committed to him : for God commits to us his words, and these divine words are his precepts, to which must be joined the faithful observation of them. Such a believer is the faithful servant, (*δῆλος ὁ πίζός*) whom the Lord praises.

“Let not the faith then be any longer hastily reproached by the heathen as simple, and vulgar, and every day :—for if it were of human institution, as

* Is. vii. 9.

† *μετάνοια* is an after perception : the derivation of the word affords room for a play upon it, which Clement at all times delights in.

‡ In all these cases the writer refers to the then state of the world : the first innocence here spoken of is the early profession of Christianity, the repentance is the change from heathen, to Christian belief and practice.

the Greeks imagine, it would ere this have come to naught ; but if, on the contrary, it increases till there is no place where it is not, I say that this faith, whether it be founded on love, or whether, as some say, on fear,—is at any rate divine ; since it can neither be enticed nor dragged away by the love of the world, nor dissolved by present fear Faith is the foundation of love (*ἀγάπη*), which in its turn leads to beneficence. The change, then, by which an unbeliever becomes a believer, holding the faith in fear and hope, is clearly divine ; faith gives us the first tendency to seek salvation, after that come fear, and hope, and repentance ;—and self-command and patience going first, lead us to perfect love and knowledge.* Well, therefore, says the apostle Barnabas, ‘ What I have received in part, I am diligent to send to you by little and little, that with your faith you may possess perfect knowledge’ (*τελείαν γνῶσιν*), and the coadjutors of our faith are fear and patience ; our allies are equanimity and self-command ; and if we remain holily and chastely in the practice of things pertaining to the Lord, with these virtues we shall find, that wisdom, intelligence, science, and perfect knowledge (*γνώσις*) will be joyfully associated. The elements of this last stage of Christian knowledge being the before-mentioned virtues, it is clear that the most important element of all must be the faith which is as necessary to the Gnostic as breath is to life ; for as without the four elements we cannot exist, so neither without faith can we attain to the Gnosis. And this is the basis of the truth.”

C. 7. “But say some, fear is an irrational pas-

* *ἐπὶ τῇ ἀγάπῃ, ἐπὶ τῇ γνῶσιν, ἰ. ε.*, to the last stage of the Christian initiation, in which the believer became one with the Divine Logos ;—wise and affectionate as the well remembered Saviour.

sion. How say you? can this definition avail when the commandment is given me by reason (διὰ λόγου), for the commandment holds fear over us as a part of discipline, in order that through it we may grow wise. Fear therefore is not irrational, but rather rational, when it persuades to such things as not to kill, not to commit adultery, not to steal, not to bear false witness. . . . We will see what are the things which the law bids us fear: for they are not those things which are neither vice nor virtue, such as poverty, sickness, and the like but real evils, such as adultery, and other vices of that kind,—ignorance,—injustice, that sickness of the soul,—death;—not that death which separates soul and body, but that death whereby the soul is separated from the truth. These are, indeed, great and fearful evils, as well as the actions which proceed from them.

“How should the law not be good which has Christ for its teacher, and which leads us, through its salutary fear, to perfection through Christ? ‘I will not the death of a sinner,’ says he, ‘but rather his repentance.’ . . . And I think he calls ignorance, death.”

C. 9. “And this fear leads both to repentance and to hope: for hope is that confident looking for of the absent good which lays hold on whatever falls out, for a cause of pleasant anticipation: and this we have learned to improve into love. And this love (ἀγάπη) consists in a perfect union of purpose between the reason and the life and actions; or to speak briefly, in the *one mindedness* of life; or in a wide-spreading friendship and kindness joined to right reason in the usage of our companions. Hence we call those *brothers* who are born again by the agency of the same Word (τῷ ἀντὶς λόγῳ). And in

this love also is included hospitality, which is a studied kindness towards strangers. . . . Since then these virtues mutually accompany each other, what use is there in many words? for we have already shown that faith hopes through repentance; and believes through solicitude; and that patience and exercise in these things, united with instruction, will produce love, which is the completion of knowledge. . . . The Deity alone is wise by nature; and the Wisdom, which is the power of God, is the teacher of the truth. Therefore the philosopher also who loves the truth, is for that love to be accounted a friend."

C. 10. "*Our* philosopher then requires these three things for the completion of his character: first, the view of the truth; secondly, the fulfilment of the commandments; thirdly, the instruction of good men; and when these all come together the Gnostic is completed. But if any of these be wanting, his knowledge is lame."

C. 11. "He therefore, who is a true Gnostic, abstains from the sins of reason and speech, of understanding, of sense, and of action; having heard that he who looks with desire commits adultery in his heart: and having well fixed in his mind that 'Blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall see God,' and that 'not what goeth in at the mouth polluteth a man, but that rather which goeth out of the mouth;—for from the heart cometh our conversation.' . . . Faith and complete knowledge of the truth teach the soul which receives them to be steady in itself: but the companions of falsehood are change, declensions, apostacy, as those of the Gnostic are tranquillity, permanence, peace."

C. 12. "In faith as in time, since both are twoparted, we find two indwelling virtues; for the past

time has memory, the future has hope; and we believe that as the past has happened, so the future will; and again, we love as having possessed the past, and holding the future by faith. The Gnostic then, who knows the One God, finds love engendered in himself by all the things around him. 'And behold all things that he made were very good.' He knows this and wonders."

C. 17. "It seems to me that we never cease to understand the Scriptures carnally, continually referring to our own passions the will of the passionless God; supposing it to be guided by emotions like our own: but if we are capable of supposing such to be the case with the great Creator of all things, we err atheistically. As for the constitution of the Divinity, no one is capable of explaining it thoroughly: in order, however, that we, who are in the bonds of the flesh, might understand as much as we are able to do, he spoke to us by the prophets; the Lord accommodating himself thus savingly to the weakness of man. Since then, it is the will of God to save him who obeys His commands and repents of his sins, we rejoice over our salvation; and the Lord who spake by the prophets, appropriates to himself our joy; as he does in the Gospel, where speaking as a lover of man, he says, 'I was hungry and ye gave me to eat, I was thirsty and ye gave me to drink forasmuch as ye did it unto the least of these ye did it unto me'—As then He who needs no food is said to be nourished by the food bestowed on those whom he wishes to be nourished, so He rejoices who is incapable of change of mood, because the repentant sinner, whom he wishes to be happy, has joy in his own repentance. God then being good, and abundantly compassionating his creatures, he gave them commandments through the law and

through the prophets, and now more specially by the presence of the Son, saving and pitying the miserable."

C. 19. "The true Gnostic having been made in the image and likeness of God, imitates him as far as he is able, and omits nothing to increase the likeness which has been bestowed upon him; being continent, patient, just in his life, master of his passions, ready to impart what he has, and as far as in him lies, doing good both by word and deed. 'He,' says the Scripture, 'is greatest in the kingdom,' who both acts and teaches; imitating God in a like beneficence, for the gifts of God are available for all. . . . To be made in the image and the likeness of God, therefore, does not imply any bodily likeness; for it is not lawful to compare the mortal to the immortal, but the resemblance lies in the mind and reason; on which the Lord has stamped his impress, both in the desire to do good, and the power to rule."

C. 20. "Self-command too strives after the divine likeness, so as by patience to arrive almost at a state of impassibility, as may be seen in the example of Daniel . . . and this patience the Gnostic will possess, in so far as he is what his name imports. If he be troubled, he will bless God, like excellent Job . . . if he be cast into the fire, he will not feel it: in word, in life, in manners, he will testify his faith; he lives with God, and is his constant companion in spirit; pure as to the flesh, pure in heart, holy in his speech: the world is crucified to him, and he to the world; he bears the cross of his Saviour about with him, following in his steps; and is become like God, holy among the holy."

C. 23. "The next thing to be treated of is marriage. This institution is the first legitimate conjunction of the man and the woman for the purpose

of bringing up children. We ask, then, is it expedient to marry? This is one of the things which may be characterized according to circumstances, for it may be well for a man to marry, as he finds circumstances make it desirable, or for a woman to do the like: but it is not needful for any to marry any, without concern as to who or what the wife or husband may be; rather is it right that the means, and the character, and the circumstances which may render it proper or improper, and the well-being of children should be considered, and that there be a thorough likeness of taste and disposition, so that the love which ought to be free, shall not be a matter of force and necessity on the part of the wife. . . . Democritus objected to marriage on account of the trouble attending the bringing up of children, and other cares incident to that state. . . . Others say, 'he who is without children has not completed the perfection of his nature, having no successor in whom he is perpetuated . . . altogether, therefore, marriage is desirable both for the benefit of our country, and for the succession of human beings, and for the perfecting the world as far as in us lies. . . . Even our sickness and our wants point to marriage as their solace, for where is the friend whose sympathy equals that of a wife? In fact the Scripture calls the wife a needful assistance. . . . Marriage too is a comfort as age advances, for then the children cherish the declining years of their parents. . . . Marriage then, is to be kept pure, like some spotless image in its temple, carefully guarded from all pollution, so that in the morning we may awake with the Lord, and lie down to sleep at night with thanksgiving, testifying to the Lord with our whole lives, possessing piety in our souls, and extending our discretion even to the body.'

prophets? What true Gnostic would even follow the example of John in this respect?"

C. 7. "The continence which the Greeks teach, is the warring against unruly desires; but according to us it is such an habitual self-command that no unruly desire is felt: but this self-command is only to be attained by the grace of God. . . . As it is better to be in health, than, being sick, to talk about getting well;—and to be in the light, than to discuss its powers; so is true continence better than that which the philosophers teach: for where even one desire has seated itself, yea, though it should never be wrought out into bodily action, the memory is busy with the absent object. Upon the whole, then, the discussion respecting marriage, food, and other things of the same kind, proceeds upon this ground: that what is requisite shall be done, not as the result of desire, but as a part of the human economy: for we are not the children of bodily instinct, but of the will: and he who marries for the sake of the comforts of a family, should exercise a proper continence, and treat his wife, whom he is bound to love, with a modest and virtuous respect. . . . But we are not to imagine that continence relates to one thing only, i. e., the licentiousness of unchastity; for it has relation to all other things which are coveted by a luxurious soul, which, not content with what is necessary, seeks for indulgence. Continence is the contempt of money: continence is the despising of pleasures, and possessions, and spectacles; it is the ruling the mouth, and mastering what is evil, by means of reason. . . . But those who, through hatred of the flesh, avoid the commerce of matrimony, and the participation of proper food, are untaught and atheistic: such continence is folly, and resembles that practised by the heathens; as the Brachmans,

who neither touch wine nor any flesh : or those of the Gymnosophists who are called venerable, who wholly abstain from marriage. . . . The conclusion is, therefore, that he does not sin who enters into marriage according to reason, and the Divine ordinance (*κατὰ λόγον*), if he do not find the bringing up of children a difficulty : for many feel grieved at being childless and many cannot bear to live alone, and desire marriage on that account, and no one is to be blamed for doing what is pleasing to himself, in moderation, and temperately, therefore any one of us is at liberty to enter upon married life or not, as he thinks fit."

C. 12. "But whatever may be the kind of life chosen, whether to live in single chastity, or, uniting in marriage, to bring up a family, it is proper to live wisely according to our determination, and not to neglect the duties arising from it for there are duties pertaining to both. . . . But some one will say, 'he that is single cares for the Lord, but he who is married thinks how he shall please his wife.' What then? Is it not in his power, while pleasing his wife according to God's ordinance, to give thanks to Him? and is it not possible for the husband and wife together to care for the Lord? And as she who is not married is solicitous for the things of the Lord, that she may be holy in body and spirit; so also may the married woman be solicitous to please both her husband and the Lord, in the Lord. Both are holy, both she who is married and she who remains single."

BOOK IV.

THE writer begins this book by a review of what he had already written, in which it was his object, he says, to show that "philosophy," such philosophy at least as he himself had learned and loved, "ought to be cultivated by all, whether slave or free, man or woman." He next professes it to be his intention to treat of the Gnostic physiology, as he quaintly terms it: namely, to draw the character of a Christian thoroughly trained, and, as he adds,—borrowing the phrase from the heathen mysteries,—completely initiated.

C. 3. "It is of the Gnostic that the phrase, 'Thou hast made him a little short of the angels,' is to be understood: less in time that is, and inferior in the clothing of his spirit, but equal in immortal life. . . . As all truth is but the reflection of the truth that is in God, so the Gnostic loves truth. . . . and bears cheerfully the dissolution of the bond between soul and body, 'for,' says he, 'I am crucified to the world, and the world to me, and even whilst in the flesh, I have lived a citizen of heaven.'"

C. 4. "He, therefore, who is properly termed a Gnostic, readily submits when the sacrifice of his body is called for; not using any insulting language towards the magistrate who tempts him to abandon his faith, but, as I think, teaching, and even arguing with him.

"How great the glory, and how long the joy,"

as Empedocles says, of those who leave this mortal life. This man has the testimony of his own heart that he is in Gnostic faith towards God, and shows

the tempter that it is vain to strive against the faith of love. The fear of death cannot tempt him to apostatize from the inward obedience which he practises towards the teaching of his Lord, but by his conduct he confirms the truth of his preaching, showing forth thus the power of that God to whom he is hastening. Thou mayest have seen and wondered at his love, which he thus openly shows, being united in grateful affection to him who once bore his nature, and by virtue of that honored blood viewing without horror even the unbelievers who seek his life.* He has refused to deny Christ through the fear of breaking his command, and this fear is in him a witness to the truth. Neither will he sell his faith through the hope of offered gifts, but in his unbounded love to his Lord he quits life with satisfaction; grateful to Him who has offered him the means of his exodus from this world, grateful to all those who have conspired against him; and have thus afforded him an honest occasion, though unsought, of showing himself as he is: to them by his patience, to the Lord by his love; by which indeed he was already known to Him, who before his birth even saw what his choice would be. Boldly then he comes to his friend, the Lord, for whom he has willingly offered his body,—and to speak poetically—is by our Saviour received with the appellation of ‘dear brother,’—on account of the similitude of their lives. For we call martyrdom the perfect imitation and finish; not that man then finishes his life, as the heathens fancy, but because it shows the finished work of love. . . And if confession of our belief in God be martyrdom†

* This passage has necessarily been paraphrased; the words literally translated would be scarcely understood.

† A martyr is in strictness a witness in a court of law.

(μαρτυρία) every one possessing the knowledge of God, and leading a pure life in obedience to his commands, is a martyr,—i. e., a witness—in life and in word, whatever may be the mode in which he is set loose from the body; as says the Lord in the gospel, ‘Whoever has left father and mother and brethren,’ and all the ties consequent upon these, ‘on account of the gospel and of my name, is blessed:’—not signifying hereby simple martyrdom, but that perfect* testimony which is given by a life regulated according to the canon of the gospel, through love for the Lord. . . . We say farther, that those who throw themselves in the way of death,—for there are some who belong to us only in name, who hasten miserably to throw away their lives in hatred to their Creator,†—these we say destroy themselves, but are not martyrs, even though they should undergo a public punishment: for they have not preserved the character of witnesses to the faith; not knowing the true God, but throwing away their lives vainly, like the Gymnosophists of India.”

C. 5. . . . “Some things are to be chosen, not on their own account, but for the sake of the body; for the body requires care on account of the soul, to which it is related. He who would lead a gnostic life, therefore, must learn which of these things are fit and proper, for that all pleasures are not good, is clear: since we know the fact to be, that some are sheerly evil . . . and thus pain is not to all an evil; for on some occasions we choose, though at others we avoid it. The choice and the avoidance, then, are

* γναστικήν.

† The heresy of Valentinus, afterwards called the Gnostic, asserted that the Δημιουργός or Creator of the world was an inferior and evil Being, or principle.

made in consequence of a sound knowledge of the circumstances and their consequences: and it follows that the science which enables us to choose wisely, is the main good; not the pleasure itself, which is only sometimes chosen. Thus the martyr chooses the pleasure he obtains through hope, and sets it against present pain."

C. 6. "I am of opinion too, that the gnostic life requires that we should not come to the saving Word through fear of punishment, or even through hope of the gifts promised in the gospel, but on account of its intrinsic excellence. . . . The Saviour refers all things to the discipline of the soul, as when he said that the widow who brought her all to the treasury, though it was trifling in amount, gave more than the rich who offered only of their superfluity. . . . 'Blessed are the meek,' says he; that is, those who have triumphed in the battle carried on by unbelief in the soul, and have subdued anger and all the other passions which follow upon it,* i. e., unbelief: for the meek whom he praises are those who are so by choice, not by any necessity of nature. . . . 'Blessed are those that weep' . . . but there are two kinds of repentance: for one kind, and this is the commonest, results from fear of the consequences of evil deeds: the other, much more valuable, originates in the horror we feel at seeing our souls unworthily stained with sin: but yet God, who is never weary of benevolence, will accept either. . . . 'Blessed are the compassionate' . . .

* Modern Christians might perhaps profit by seriously reflecting that the good Clement considers anger and other transgressions consequent on indulged passion, as a consequence of *unbelief*. In fact, does a man ever pursue any course which he thoroughly believes will end in certain evil and suffering?—Those who give way to their passions then, *do not believe the gospel*.

but compassion is not, as some of the philosophers take it, a mere grief for the sufferings of others for those indeed are compassionate who *act* kindly: but yet those also, who wish so to act, but are disabled from so doing by poverty, sickness, or age, are also to be considered as compassionate; for their will is the same, and it is only the means that are wanting 'Blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall see God' . . . and if we consider this truly, we shall perceive that knowledge is the guide in the purifying of the soul, and is the giver of energy for good actions; for many things are good or evil according to circumstances. He wills therefore that those who come to God should be pure from unruly corporeal desires, and holy in their contemplations, so that nothing debasing may adhere to what should be the leading power in man, i. e., the soul. The Gnostic, therefore, accustoms himself to such contemplation; conversing with God in all purity, until he is habitually so free from passion, and so assimilated to the Deity, that he may rather be characterized as being himself science and knowledge, than as merely possessing them." Other virtues are treated of by Clement in the same spirit, showing that motives rather than actions, should draw the attention of the Christian; but want of space forbids the going through the whole. He thus concludes his character of the Gnostic Christian.

C. 7. "Plato describes the just man as happy notwithstanding the severest torments:—the Gnostic, too, has fixed his aim (*τελος*), beyond this life, in the being happy and blessed for ever, the regal friend of God. Hence dishonor, exile, proscription, or yet more,—death,—cannot tear from him that free and overpowering love towards God which bears all

things, and is patient under all things, because it believes all things to be administered by the Divine prescience . . . The first grade, therefore, is that instruction through fear, by means of which we abstain from unjust actions; the second is, hope, by which we follow after what is good;—and love completes the course of Gnostic instruction . . . Thus armed, the Gnostic exclaims, ‘O Lord, give the occasion, and accept the manifestation of my love! Let it be severe, for I can despise dangers through love towards Thee.’ ”

C. 8. “It is in the power of him who lives according to our institutions, to philosophize without letters, whether he be barbarian, or Greek, or slave, or old man, or child, or woman; for temperance and self-command are duties common to all who embrace it; for one and the same virtue belongs to one and the same nature: and there is not one human nature for the woman and another for the man, but it is alike in both; since if it belonged only to the male to be just, and moderate, and whatever else is consequent on this character,* then would the woman rightly be unjust and intemperate; a thing not allowable to be thought, even: moderation and justice, and all the other virtues, therefore, are alike in the man and the woman, the slave and the free . . . Not that we affirm the female to be the same as the male, as far as sex goes . . . for the bearing of children is the part of the woman, as the female; not as man, taken generically:

* It was made a question by Aristoteles whether women possessed the capability of virtue: and it was the very common persuasion of the heathen that their nature was inferior to that of the man. Clement, therefore, sets himself to combat this most pernicious error, and to show that the soul is of no sex, and that male and female are alike before God. See Gal. iii. 28.

but in those things which belong to the soul, man is alike, whether male or female; and both sexes are intended to arrive at the same virtue. . . . As therefore we consider that the man ought to be temperate, and above sensual pleasures; so we also hold that the woman should be temperate, and unsensual. . . . Wherefore, even against opposition and impending punishment from the husband or the master, both the slave and the woman will philosophize: for he is free over whom the tyrant death is powerless, and who cannot be deterred by the fear of worldly ills from the worship of God . . . and if it be good and praiseworthy in the man to die for the sake of virtue, of freedom, and of his own soul, so also is it in the woman;—for this is the part, not of the male sex merely, but of the good generally.

C. 22. “The Gnostic is clear-sighted and intelligent, and his virtue consists in the performance of specific good actions, not in the mere abstinence from evil ones . . . nor even in the doing good ones through fear . . . nor for the hope of promised honor . . . The Gnostic does good out of love, and chooses what is right because it is fair in his eyes . . . and if it were possible that eternal salvation could be separated from the knowledge of God, and he had the choice of one or the other given him, he would choose the latter in preference to the former.”

C. 26. “Those are not to be praised who inveigh against the creature, and condemn the body as bad; not seeing that the constitution of man is such as to fit him for the contemplation of heaven; that the very organs of sense tend towards knowledge; and that all his parts and limbs are fitted for the pursuit of what is fair and good, not of sensual pleasure. Hence the highly honored soul of man has been

chosen by God as his habitation, and he has been thought worthy of the Holy Spirit's sanctification, both of body and soul; being perfected by the restoration* effected by the Saviour."

* *καταρτισμῶς*. This word implies a restoration like that of a dislocated joint, which, by being replaced in its socket, moves again at the command of the soul.

THE END.

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FEW WELL-WISHERS TO KNOWLEDGE.

No. VIII.

AN EXPOSITION
OF
VULGAR AND COMMON ERRORS

ADAPTED TO THE
YEAR OF GRACE MDCCCXLV.

BY THOMAS BROWN REDIVIVUS,

WHILOM KNT. AND M. D.

i. e.

Caroline Frances Brown

PHILADELPHIA:
LEA AND BLANCHARD.
1846.

PHILADELPHIA:
T. K. AND P. G. COLLINS,
PRINTERS.

TO THE READER.

IN ancient times it was held as a matter of faith by many, that man's spiritual part did not go at once to its ultimate state of existence, but did undergo a kind of purification, by the passing from one body to another of a better or worse kind; until, being thus corrected of its earthly desires and propensions, it was fitted for its final beatitude. Pythagoras, it was said by some, had good recollection of the time when his soul was far worse bestowed than in that body wherein he preached temperance and virtue so effectually to the citizens of Crotona, as to raise that city at once to greatness, and its people to a merited superiority over their neighbors of Sybaris:—a body kept in such holiness and purity by its beatified inhabitant, that we may well believe it fitted for that resurrection of the just, where “they that do well shall shine as the brightness of the firmament; and they that turn many to righteousness, as the stars for ever and ever.”

Good reader, I will not ask thee to believe that Pythagoras hath revisited earth under my semblance, albeit my wish to amend the morals, and increase the wise knowledge of my cotemporaries, be not less lively than his; but merely to give me so far credit as to believe for the nonce, that the pen which doth now address thee, is that of Thomas Brown, whilom Doctor of Physic; who began his inquiry into vulgar and common errors some two centuries back, and having laughed somewhat at the odd blunders in science made by the men of that age, hath now,

in return, somewhat to blush for his own. We are always wont to inquire anxiously what men of other lands have to say concerning us; rightly judging that they who have been brought up in other habits, will notice the strangeness or excellencies of ours, with a sharper observation than that of one born and nurtured in the country: there is, therefore, good reason to think that the opinions of a man of another age stepping onward into this, will not be without their value to such as can forget their own pre-judgments so far as to profit thereby.

Within the last two hundred years the very face of the world is changed; and he who should rise at once from his grave, passing through no intermediate stage, and look on the nineteenth century with the eyes of the seventeenth, would go near to expire again with amazement at what he saw; and would despair of ever, in the short span of one life, attaining to the knowledge of all the discoveries which have graced these later times. But let the same man go into society, and he will find things far less changed there, than, with such a change in all else, there would be good cause to expect. True it is, that there is more of refinement in expression and manners: but the unthinking many have gained, on the whole, far less from the deep thinking few, than,—taking a theoretical view of the case,—might in fair reason have been looked for; and the same error which my Lord Bacon doth so feelingly complain of in his time, remaineth very little corrected in this: namely, a “mistaking or misplacing the last or farthest end of knowledge; for men,” saith that wise writer, “have entered into a desire of learning and knowledge, sometimes upon a natural curiosity, and inquisitive appetite; sometimes to entertain their minds with variety and delight; sometimes for orna-

ment and reputation; and sometimes to enable them to victory of wit and contradiction; and most times for lucre and profession; and seldom to give a true account of their gift of reason, to the benefit and use of men; as if there were sought in knowledge a couch whereupon to rest a searching and restless spirit; or a terrace for a wandering and variable mind to walk up and down with a fair prospect; or a tower of state for a proud mind to raise itself upon; or a fort or commanding ground for strife and contention; or a shop for profit or sale; and not a rich storehouse for the glory of the Creator, and the relief of man's estate."—In brief, learning is sought as the means to an end,—and that end is too usually a worldly one; not for the love of knowledge *per se*; nor for the elevation of the soul, by the giving it strength of pinion to soar above the things of earth; neither if it settle down towards lower regions, doth it come, bird of paradise-like, radiant with the hues of heaven, to make us love the skies it hath left; but it descendeth the rather like the fuliginous particles of the smoke which hath soared upwards for a time, dark and unlovely; with much talk of utility, but little of benevolent usefulness.

Neither do I find that the great advance of science hath done much in the rendering pædagogy more facile and pleasant either unto the teacher or the learner: for I perceive youth to be instructed much in the same guise as was the practice of two centuries back; by the influence of fear rather than love. Neither, though somewhat hath been done towards the affording to the poor a slight taste of letters, hath such advance been made towards elevating them to that state of mental enlightenment which is the birthright of every human being, as becometh a great and wealthy state, such as England doth now

boast itself to be. Neither do I see that the state of woman-kind is such as becometh a period wherein the empire of mind over matter is so loudly proclaimed. For those disabilities and obstructions of law which were laid upon women in semi-barbarous times, by reason of their lack of physical strength for martial exercises, remain unaltered; and their education is for the most part conducted in such sort, as to debar them from that instruction in liberal science, which shall best fit them for the performance of their many and great duties: nay, it is not rare to hear such as have freed themselves from the shackles of idle prejudice so far as to acquire a competent knowledge of science, ancient and modern, rather flouted at, as if they had done some evil thing, than marked as an ensample for others. And in these things I judge that this age hath not made the advance which it claimeth to have done, in the policies of civil life, and consequently that it walketh lamely as it were, seeing that on the one leg it standeth high, while the other is curtailed of its just proportions.

Nevertheless it promiseth well for this age, that of all the common errors which in former editions of this work the author took occasion to remark on, scarcely any one remaineth unto this present day; and I may surely indulge a hope that if their forefathers suffered themselves to be argued out of their prejudices, and flouted into the receiving of the truth, in so many instances; the existing generation will not be less candid, and take in good part what haply may be more rudely said than is the wont of this age and country. Verily, if Truth have lain in the well ever since the time of Democritus,—and, indeed, before his time, for he said she was then so deep that it was past his power to hale her up therefrom,

—the wonder is not great if the language she speak be somewhat antiquated. Yet is her voice when she speaketh, so musical to human ears, that the words she useth matter not much:—to my readers, therefore, I leave it to consider if in these things which I have noted, it be the voice of TRUTH which speaketh or not: and if, indeed, they should find it to be so, then haply they may profit thereby, to the putting away of prejudice so far, that, as this my record of common errors is of so much less bulk than the last, so in the next age there shall be none occasion to make any farther edition thereof.

OF THE CAUSES OF COMMON ERRORS.

To him who proposeth unto himself the correction of some of the errors which he continually findeth current in the world, an inquiry into their causes is a natural beginning: and, doubtless, as is set forth in the first editions of this work, the natural infirmity and deceptibility of human nature have their share therein: but less so in the present perihelion of science, than formerly. For I do now perceive, when I look deeply into the causes aforesaid, that much of the error now current is founded on sayings delivered commonly in society, which yet any one of that society could well correct by his own proper knowledge, were he so minded. I hold its prevalence, therefore, to be rather the consequence of an indolence that *will not*, than of an ignorance or dullness that *cannot* examine the grounds thereof.

When the patterns of weights and measures were laid up in the sanctuary of the Hebrews, for the prevention of mistake or fraud, we find very soon that the cubit and the ephah grew to be so much shorter and less in the hands of the people, that the difference came at last to be acknowledged and registered:—so unwilling are men to keep up to the full measure ordained by God: and thus it is that we, too, having our measure of life laid up unchangeably in the gospel, have come to have a worldly measure also, which falleth far short of it: and this is allowed and acknowledged—but hath God allowed it?—and when we go from this world with some of these current errors in our mouths, and measure ourselves

thereby, are we certain that the measure of the sanctuary will not be brought forth to falsify our bad calculation? nay, are we not sure that *it will?*

Methinks, therefore, as errors of science are every day fading away before the greater light which seemeth to be leading us on, like the lengthening days of May, to the summer-tide of knowledge, where there shall be no real darkness;—it is of more import to expose the falsity of some of these current sayings, and to bring forth into common use the cubit and ephah of the sanctuary, seeing that sooner or later we *must* measure our course of life thereby;—than to combat many of those mere popular errors in science which are only dragging on a lingering existence, and which will expire altogether in a very few years without any aid of mine. And if by such an examination of common sayings that have thus far passed unquestioned, I may lead men generally to look a little more narrowly into their opinions on such matters; and cultivate in them more rational and logical modes of thinking, so that fallacies shall not, as heretofore, pass undetected through an indolent fear of the trouble of inquiry,—I shall hold myself to have done good service to the world, and not be without hope that I may thereby have rendered my own last account somewhat more satisfactory.

As for other errors of less concernment, some have arisen from witty sayings, which have come to be repeated for the neatness of the expression, till they acquired the weight of a maxim: and some have had their birth in too much learning; inasmuch as not a few writers have treated their own language contemptuously, as deficient in grammatical forms; and so in studying to write Latin, they have forgotten how to write English; and thus have fallen themselves, and led others into notable errors of phrase;

some of which out of love to my native tongue, which I hold to be rich in power of expression, when spoken in its purity, I shall take occasion to notice: and doubtless, if we look narrowly into men's notions, Ignorance also will be found to have a large family of errors that call him father; but as I have before said, they are a sickly brood, not likely in most instances to reach maturity; for the which cause I am the less careful about them.

OF VULGAR ERRORS IN THE WAY OF COMMON SAYINGS.

“A young man must sow his wild oats.”

A BAD and profitless crop at any time, but worst when sown in a virgin soil; for then do they grow more rampant, so as utterly to choke all the seed planted by the care of the Divine Husbandman. But to speak of this notion without a figure,—for methinks it is on account of its foulness that it hath been so veiled;—and sometimes it is better to show bad things in all their ugliness, that men may eschew them,—what doth this phrase of “sowing wild oats” signify? Doth it not amount to this,—that man, having lost his primeval innocence, shall take good care that he never regain it? That he doth well, if, after having given all the cream and richness of his life to Belial, he shall haply carry the sour skim milk thereof to God?

I remember once hearing one who had thus done, and was now grown old, lament himself, in that death was drawing nigh; he being then suffering with gout and other infirmities of age, come upon him all the sooner for the intemperance of his youth: to the which it was answered, that death was a happy deliverance from the pains of protracted age, and that even had his life formerly been such as he would now wish had been otherwise, yet that for many years he had had no cause for uneasiness on this head; seeing that he had doubtless repented of the past. Methinks I see his countenance now, and hear the tone of his voice when he replied to those

well-intended consolations—"Yes, I forsook my sins when my sins forsook me,"—and he paused as if fearing to strengthen by utterance the thought which oppressed him; but after a moment he added, "how can I tell that *such* repentance is of any avail?" and then, though his age and health required rest, he plunged again into the dissipation of company, in order to get rid of uneasy remembrance, and it may be, of still more uneasy anticipations; and so he died—he had "sown his wild oats," and gathered the fruit.

But say some, and they are women whom I hear say so,—the more shame and the pity when they who should be the salt of the earth, have so far lost their savor as to allow it to putrefy,—“Men must know the world, and they will avoid vice the better for having tasted, and found what it is like.” “Good madam,” I would answer to such an one, “there have been persons who have swallowed arsenic, and recovered; but did any one ever think that it was needful in order to the avoiding of that poison in future, to try how much danger and suffering attended the taking of it? Or did he ever find his constitution amended thereby?” Man’s bodily frame is too complex in its mechanism to be disordered with impunity; and it may well be a question with an anatomist, who knoweth the functions of the brain, and the extreme delicacy of that organ, whether it ever entirely recovereth from the effects of this devilish apprenticeship. Neither doth the youth thereby gain knowledge of the world; for, thanks be to Heaven! bad as it is, it is not all bad; and I think the larger portion of mankind will be found to have enough of good in their compositions to pose a man shrewdly, who hath known only evil. A person may be innocent without being ignorant: he

may know, alack!—who can move in the world and not know it?—that there is much of vice, and many evil men and evil things around him: but he may at the same time dislike and avoid such society. It hath been said by ONE whom none will gainsay, that “no man can serve two masters; for either he will hate the one and love the other, or else he will hold to the one and despise the other.” Men do not become vicious till they have learned to like vice; for if they did not, it is too ugly in its features and frightful in its consequences to be entertained for a moment. What security is there then, that after having cherished this depraved appetite for a season, the order of nature will be reversed in this one instance, and that habit will not in this, as in other the like cases, strengthen the propension to what hath been oft times done, till it becometh more and more difficult to avoid the doing it again?

I should like to ask such as hold this pseudo-knowledge of the world so especially needful to man's well-being, what place in that future world which all profess to believe in, this science is likely to fit them for? Sure I am that if our conversation be destined to be with just men made perfect, as in Sacred Writ we are told it shall be, we shall find this kind of knowledge strangely out of place in such intercourse; and I question much if such a training would not go far to exclude a man from all good society there; as being too vulgar and ill-mannered a soul to be admitted among such as had been accustomed to keep good company. It is a convenient doctrine that men hold, that the happiness or infelicity of the next world is an arbitrary reward or punishment, which can be bestowed at the will of the Judge; whose compassion being finally moved by a few tears and professions of sorrow, he will

thereupon remit the one, and bestow the other. But what if we should find that when the earthly mould is broken, the soul remaineth with all the ugly features there given it, settled and fixed for ever? Will not this so-called knowledge of the world then remain upon its front, as an unseemly wart or wen, quite foreign from its true beauty?

Methinks the most careless libertine would shrink from the thought of remembering to all eternity,—even if he had no other penalty to fear,—all the scenes of gross vice he had witnessed, all the innocence he had undermined; all the misery he had been the cause of: yet if we believe in a future judgment, we cannot suppose that the remembrance of our past deeds will ever be wiped out, for we are to receive “the reward of *the deeds done in the body*, whether they be good or whether they be evil.”

But excesses of this kind are a mark of spirit, it is said; and some young damsel will be found to remark that she doth “not like an effeminate man.” Fair lady, did you ever hear of one Jesus of Nazareth? Did any of the most famed heroes of ancient or modern times ever meet torture and death more calmly than he did? or ever bear himself before prejudiced and unjust judges with more noble self-possession and dignity? Did HE want spirit? HE, from whom the scourge of the Roman drew not a sigh; HE who conversed calmly on the cross! was HE effeminate? His company was sought by the wealthy and the great, the poor carpenter’s son! could HE be wanting in elegance of manners? Yet how patient, how gentle, how kind was he in all the relations of life! how pure, how holy was his conduct! He, the young, the courted guest; the idol of the people, who might have set the crown upon

his brow at any moment of his career, if he would but have given the word! If you have ever heard of this person, look once more at your man of spirit; place the two characters side by side—but I will not insult your judgment by drawing the parallel: suffice it that Jesus of Nazareth, though “tempted in all things like as we are;” young, followed, fond of female society, and joining in all the pleasures of social life,—*sowed no wild oats.*

“*A good fellow, nobody’s enemy but his own.*”

It hath oft times been matter of wonderment to me how many phrases do come to be received as current coin in the world, which for certain were never lawfully stamped in the mint of either religion or reason: and among these brass shillings of society, I know none that better deserveth to be nailed to the counter than the one above placed; for many an idle young man hath, before now, found it the last in his pocket, and haply hath exchanged it for a pistol bullet, thinking himself a gainer by the bargain.

If man grew to a rock like a limpet, then might he haply be his own enemy without any great harm to his neighbors; but he who liveth in society, and faileth to perform his part aright in the station assigned to him, doth all that in him lieth to destroy the body politic. He who is delivered over to vice and drunkenness—for such, being interpreted, is the meaning of a good fellow who is only *his own enemy*,—setteth a bad example to his dependents; squandereth his fortune on unworthy objects, to the neglect of all that he might and ought to have done towards the relief and advance of the deserving; plungeth his family into difficulties: grieveth, shameth, and perhaps starveth them; ruineth his health, so as to make himself a burthen to those about him;

and finally, after having been a bad citizen, a bad master, a bad husband, a bad father, sinketh into the grave with a soul so irrecoverably poisoned by habits of sensuality and gross earthliness, that it would seem rather fit to rot with its putrefying companion, than to enter into any region of spiritualized existence. And this man who hath fulfilled no one duty, but on the contrary hath spread around him a dank atmosphere of sin, is called "a good fellow," merely because he hath done all this with an air of reckless gayety, which showed an utter absence of any feeling for the beings he was rendering miserable! Verily the world's measure is wofully short of the standard cubit and ephah of the sanctuary.

"We must do as others do."

So doubtless said the people before the flood, and the natives of Sodoma; and from their time downwards, half the evils of the world may be tracked to that gregarious propensity in man, which maketh him, like a silly sheep, leap because others leap, notwithstanding that he himself seeth no just cause for any such feat of agility. But "what will people say?" exclaim the weakly minded. "Good sir, or madam," I would answer, "people think far less of your concerns than you imagine; or even if they do bestow a passing notice on them, there is so little of unanimity among men, unless where the great instincts of our nature are concerned, that oft, yea, most times, what one party blameth, another will praise." True it is, that it concerneth all who would do good in their generation, so far to make this inquiry as that they may not *needlessly* give offence, even to the conceits and prejudices of their neighbors; because so to do doth not only militate against the rule of Christian charity, but inasmuch as it may

cause their "good to be evil spoken of," doth notably diminish their usefulness : but to let this consideration of what others will say concerning us, be, as it often is, a worm at the root of good intention, a barrier across the path which leadeth to our goal,—what is it but to give idle talk more importance than conscience, and to set the fear of man to weigh against the fear of God, in the balances of this world.

In the greatest matter that ever was enacted on this earth, down to the most insignificant occurrence of ordinary life, this unhappy question hath forced its way, to the manifest moral perturbation, if not to the actual overthrowing of the inquirer. It was an idle and common occurrence that the daughter of Herodias should dance ; and it was a no less common occurrence that a king, being drunk, should make a promise whereof he foresaw not the consequences ; but it was the fear of what the lords who sat at meat with him *would say*, that made Herod imbrue his hands in the blood of an innocent man, even when his better nature started back from the commission of so heinous a crime. And thus much for a trivial occurrence where the dread of the idle judgment of man led to bitter consequences and deep guilt : but there was another and a greater occasion where this concernment for the ill-digested opinion and talk of others played a yet more notable and important part ; for what was it that led Pontius Pilate to condemn HIM whom he in his heart believed to be guiltless, but the fear that "people would say" he was disloyal unto Cæsar ? And to pass from the greater unto the less, how long ago would that evil custom bequeathed to us by our barbarous ancestors, have been rusting, with their armor, in forgetfulness, did not the cowardly fear of what strangers would say, outbalance the laws of God, and the best affec-

tions of our nature; and arm the hand of the friend against the friend, when both, at heart, shrunk from the appeal to this *ultima ratio* of unreasoning men.

But leaving this part of the matter, wherein this evil carefulness for the sweetness of the world's breath leadeth to crimes of a deep dye; let us farther consider the ill influence which this maxim that "we must do as others do," exerciseth on the common affairs of life. A man, for instance, when he summeth up his reckonings, and asketh himself how his business is thriving, may perceive that he is not so well to do in the world as he was; that the sources of his gains, without any fault of his, perhaps, are lessening; and that there is no reasonable hope that they will again prosper him as they have heretofore done. What doth he then?—doth he content himself to spend less when he gaineth less?—to proportion the sum of his outgoings to that of his diminished incomings? No, "what would people say? he must do as others of a like rank do."—What wonder if ruin follow? . . . Again;—a man of small fortune hath acquaintances whose larger means may justify their indulging in many of the gauds and ornaments of life;—the wife of such an one hath jewels;—another keepeth a table, not for hospitality alone, but show;—our poorer man hath hitherto been thrifty and careful, but an idle question maketh its way into his mind of "what will people think" of his frugal though hospitable board, his wife's lack of bravery in her attire,—his own plain mode of life?—Where this notion hath once settled on the mind, it is like rust, corroding and cankering whatever it touches: it eateth away his peace, and paltry as it is, hath power to destroy the comfort of a life! To be rid of it he spendeth what he getteth not, vieth with his neighbor for a

year or two, and becometh a beggar for the remainder of his days.

Nor is this over carefulness for the world's opinion less an enemy to kindness than to thrift: many a deed whose object is to raise the fallen, to cheer those on whom the hard hearted have frowned, to speak peace to a troubled soul, or other such Christian act, hath been nipped in the bud by its selfish, blighting breath; and, like other tyrannical rulers, it is not satisfied with the homage of our actions only; it must have that of our speech; and leadeth to injustice in more, and more diverse ways, than I can here specify. The experience of every one will, I doubt not, furnish him with many instances hereof in lesser matters; as where persons really not ill natured have joined with the company in slanderous or unedifying talk, lest it should be thought strange, should they not do as others did; and so on in other things of a like kind. It would be better both for ourselves and others, methinks, if instead of asking "what will *people* say?" we were to ask "what will *conscience* say?" and instead of measuring our doings by those of others, were to seek to square them by the standard of the sanctuary. We might haply save ourselves from many crimes, and some follies, by so doing.

"He that spareth the rod spoileth the child"

Is a sentence which, though it be that of the wise Solomon, is often in the mouth of many a man that hath not Solomon's wisdom, or he would have known that if the advance of knowledge be not of force to enable us to teach the young to love goodness, rather than to fear punishment, we might, for all the profit we have gained from learning, as well have remained ignorant. Truly, that is but a slavish service which is paid merely through fear of the rod; and as good

Doctor Martin Luther hath well said, "How shall our works please God when they come from a disinclined and unwilling heart? For to fulfil the law is to do the works of the law with inclination and affection; and freely, without the constraint of the law, to lead a godly and pious life, as if there were no fear of punishment."—I trow that none of those who are so free to quote this sentence of King Solomon, would be satisfied with all Solomon's knowledge, even though he spake of all plants, from the cedar of Lebanon, to the hyssop that hangeth on the wall: I hold it therefore among vulgar errors to suppose that we are to make no advance in the matter of education, when there is no other point wherein we would be satisfied to live and do as King Solomon did. And hereout arises much bitter fruit: for while parents are pleasing themselves with the thought that all offence is to be whipped out of the child by future pedagogues, and all learning whipped in; those years wherein the tender shoot can best be trained, are wholly neglected; and the child who haply, in after years, may be called on to harangue in the pulpit or the senate;—to guide a family, or it may be, the state;—is left in the nursery to learn to speak English from rude unlettered persons, who cannot utter three words without transgressing against the commonest rules of grammar;—and to gain the first notions of logical reasoning from those whose arguments reach no farther than, "it is because it is;"—and the first ideas of duty from such as most frequently hold the bearing a fair face towards the head of the family, to be the only point to be aimed at; and whose squabbles and ill language, unconstrained before the baby, give its young mind the first impressions. One who spake as never man spake, said, "Ye do not gather grapes from thorns, nor figs from

thistles"—yet what but thorns and thistles are likely to spring up in a nursery where the mind is left, as was quaintly said by some one, "a sheet of white paper for the devil to write upon"—whereas if parents would do their duty, and by keeping their children with them under such gentle restraint as parental affection would dictate, check in the bud the first indications of evil, the young memory would be stored with knowledge picked up from conversation, without the weariness of learning; the language would be polished, the manners refined; and the child, instead of coming down once a day to destroy everything he can lay his hands on; to howl if in an ill, or to bellow if in a good humor; would be a cheerful and pleasant companion; knowing when and where to indulge in his recreations, and when to withdraw into discreet silence, should graver matters require it. Nor is this any fine drawn picture of the imagination: for in this my revisitation of the world, it hath been my happiness to see some such families, and the felicity enjoyed by all the members, old and young, hath shown that knowledge, if rightly employed, can give us a better system than that of a semi-barbarous age, now passed away along with that law of Moses, which, though good for the times, was pronounced by the greatest of all authorities to have been given to the Israelites "because of the hardness of their hearts."

"Children should not ask questions."

I REMEMBER once hearing of the fellow of a college at Oxford, whose training had been in the days when university men could go deeper into a bottle of port than a problem of Euclid, who exclaimed against the evil practice of allowing children to be inquisitive. "A child cometh up to one, now-a-days," cried this rem-

nant of the olden times, "and asketh me the diameter of the moon: now I don't know what is the diameter of the moon, and I don't like to be asked such questions." This old gentleman was at least honest, and confessed without reserve the real cause of his objection. If others would be as honest, I have little doubt that we should find the very strenuous objections made to children's inquisitiveness, and eagerness to search into *omne scibile*, to have its origin in a like cause; their elders *do not know the diameter of the moon*. But meseemeth that even though the former generation should have been ignorant of many useful things, they have not any right thereby engendered to choke the spring of knowledge for the young, even though their searching inquiries should disclose how little the old had drunk of it; and he must have been a bad parent who hath gained so little of the affection of his child by his kindness, as to have any fear that he shall attract his mockery by his want of erudition. A better answer would such a parent give, even in that case, were he to say, "My child, when I was young, no one would answer my questions; and, therefore, to my regret, I remained ignorant of much that I wished to know: but, my dear child, I will not so deal with thee; and, therefore, though to this question of thine I am unable to give an answer of mine own science, yet as happily we have in this age books that will tell us this, and much more, we will together seek this out, and then we shall both be the wiser." Nor need any one fear the being lightly esteemed by his children for this plain spoken sincerity; for the lesson thus learned is made pleasant by the very circumstance that it is participated in by the parent, not dogmatically enforced; and the child will rather wish that much of his learning should be thus acquired,

than that he should run the hazard of being rebuked for slowness of apprehension, by one who already knoweth what he hath to explain.

Moreover this inquiring spirit which men are at such pains to repress, would seem to have been bestowed by God for the express purpose of farthering man's knowledge: for the child asketh of his parent the cause of this and that, and if he be answered well and freely, he will have learned, long ere he come to man's estate, the current state of science; and having thus a foundation whereon to advance his building, he may chance thereupon to place a superstructure which may be both useful and fair: but if this first instinct be checked, and the child be compelled to look on what he understandeth not, and yet hold no question thereupon; he will soon learn to glance carelessly over the things around him, so that "seeing he shall not see, and hearing he shall not understand;" and when he cometh to years, mis-called of discretion, it will be well for him if they afford enough of it to enable him then to hold his tongue.

During the first years of childhood the brain is tender, and impatient of much hard application; and, therefore, if heavy lessons be set him to learn, a child soon becometh unhealthy, and finally lumpish and incapable: but it is at this period of the tenderness of the brain, that he is most prone to ask questions as to all that he seeth or heareth, as though he were exercising that organ in the same way that he doth his limbs, by many irregular jumps and movements which favor its healthy development. If these movements be restrained, the body becometh deformed; nor doth the brain suffer less by the repressing this its natural exercise; becoming ever after inert, and unfit for all those higher operations of in-

telleet, which require promptitude of thought: so that not only is much precious time lost afterwards, in gaining that rudimentary knowledge which might have been acquired *vivâ voce* without fatigue, but the organ itself is, by its long inactivity, rendered less fit for its work. Two heavy evils, whereof the world hath daily experience in the bad ordering of affairs, by reason of the lack of mental expertness in those who have been entrusted with the overseeing thereof: and thus a large quota of mischief ariseth from the senseless vanity of parents, who are ashamed to acknowledge their lack of science; or their inconsiderateness in giving forth commands which they cannot support by any just and convincing reason, for which cause they dread the word, "why?"—or their indolence in not choosing to seek, either in their own minds or elsewhere, the means of satisfying the first longings of the child after true knowledge and justice.

"A boy should be manly."

AND what doth this phrase of "being manly," intend to express? We can understand what was meant by the *αρετη* of the Greeks, and the *virtus* of the Romans in heathen times: for in states when war was the only honorable employment,—plunder the only riches,—and the choice was only between slavery, literal back-breaking slavery, and conquest; it is easy to conceive that personal courage was reckoned *the* virtue *κατ' ἐξχρησιν*. But the manliness of a Christian Englishman is a much more puzzling thing. "I like my boys to be manly," saith a father; and thereupon he setteth his children to fight one another or their companions; not in defence of the oppressed: not in resistance to wrong doing which they can no otherwise avoid; but upon some

quarrel, having for its origin either ill-humor, or pride, or ill passion of some kind. It is manly, then, in the eyes of this father that his son should do, what, as a Christian, he is forbidden to do! Yet this same parent would shudder at the thought of allowing him to bow to the image of a Hindoo deity, or of a Romish saint even. But wherein lies the difference? Are we empowered to be thus curiously nice in the picking out which of God's positive laws we will obey, as though we gained an immunity for the neglect of the rest, by the observance of one or two? If we are to call it manly to cast off the very sign and badge of our Christian profession, "hereby shall men know that ye are my disciples that ye love one another,"—we need make small scruple to imitate the example of the Dutch traders to Japan in former times, and deny our faith when interest prompteth us so to do. To my mind, the sin is not greater in the one case than the other: for to be manly according to this devilish interpretation of the word, is—not to be a Christian man. If such is to be his future training, wherefore is a child mocked by being signed "with the sign of the cross, in token that hereafter he shall not be ashamed to confess the faith of Christ crucified". . . . and shall "continue his faithful soldier and servant unto his life's end?" Verily the father who meaneth to have *such* a manly son, might spare himself the trouble of carrying him to the font.

"A man is not responsible for his belief."

MESEEMETH that there is, in the use made of this saying, some deal of error, sheltering itself under an undeniable truth: for though man's mind be so framed that he cannot believe without proof, and therefore he remaineth free from blame, if, from

poverty, he be misinstructed, and thereby his faith be starved; or if, from ill instruction he be supplied with prejudice only, and thereby his faith be poisoned; or if, from being born in a pagan country, the light hath not arrived to him, and therefore the seed of faith hath not been able to germinate; yet if the lack of belief in revelation be the consequence of inattention, which doth not seek for proof, or of indolence, which will not be at the pains to cultivate the intellect enough to be able to comprehend the proof when given,—then is such a man assuredly responsible for his errors. Yea, methinks he incur-reth the blame of the servant in the parable who having a talent given him, improved it not, but brought it back, not even naked as he received it, but wrapped in a napkin of fleshly desires and conceits, which he had bestowed on it whilst it was in his keeping, and complained of his lord as a hard master, because having bestowed on his idle servant the means of bettering his estate, he expected him to have made some use thereof.

It is a strange notion of many well intentioned persons, that religious knowledge doth differ from all other; and that it cometh by prayer only, and not by study. How shall the man pray who knoweth not, or believeth not the necessity for prayer? But when study hath roused his attention, then there will be some likelihood that, like the treasurer of Queen Candace, he will find out his own ignorance, and seek for some man to teach him; yea, look on high for the instruction of that Divine Teacher who is ever ready to make them wise who seek for true wisdom.

It hath never been my luck to know one whose faith bore right good fruit, who had not reasoned thereupon; for as St. Clement of Alexandria doth

truly say, "faith is knowledge, and knowledge is faith; God having so constituted them that they mutually lean on each other, by turns leading and being led." Nor, for this kind of reasoning, is it needful to have been trained in the schools of learning; for as the ancient fathers of the church do well observe, man's mind is naturally λογικος, i. e., rational or logical; and therefore many a peasant who never heard of Aristoteles, doth, notwithstanding, come to a good logical conclusion by dint of his own deep thinking, aided by experience in life and right intentions. Let a man, therefore, well judge himself, ere he assert, as a reason for his incredulity, that we are not responsible for our belief: for if he have not exerted all the powers of his mind upon the question, aided by all the cultivation which his station of life hath put within his reach, he may find when it is too late for his comfort that he hath cast away that faith which is knowledge, and knowledge which is faith, to his own great detriment in all the circumstances of life. For man, as he is not self-existent, so neither is he self-supported. He who would find diamonds must well know and believe that there is a gem within that rough outside, or he will pass it by unheeded: and he who would truly prosper in this present world, must sufficiently believe that there is good meant to him in the seeming roughnesses of life, to induce him to seek for it with some pains, otherwise he will sit down desponding, and only see black stones where others are gathering gems. Man is not yet what he shall be, and in this his infancy, if he be not content to lean on the hand which God holdeth out to him, he will stumble amid the rough ground which he hath to pass over ere he reach his resting-place.

“Women have no concern with politics,”

Is a saying which goeth current with the many, who, indeed, are not always the wise, as an incontrovertible truth; yet there is no opinion which I have heard in these days, that, to my mind, more savoreth of error. Politics, as I think, is a word applied to the science of government; but in its larger signification it extendeth itself to the knowledge of the relations between different states, and the influence which the circumstances of one may have upon the well-being of another, as well as to the acquaintance with the civil polity of our own. Now as the prosperity of a nation consisteth in the due attention on the part of its governors to all these matters; and as the well-being of every citizen is deeply involved in the prosperity of the land wherein he abideth; so hath it always been held that in all free states the rulers should be under a certain control of public opinion; this opinion being, indeed, no other than the collective expression of the notions held by the majority of individual citizens. Now as the essence of good government is that it shall protect the weak against the strong, so methinks, women, instead of having no concern with politics, have necessarily a peculiar interest therein; seeing that their small physical strength must always render them the most liable to oppression, either amid civil broils, or foreign invasion: for the which cause Plato, in his book of laws, would have the women of his imaginary state so trained to active, and even martial exercises, that should the defenders of a city be slain or absent, the women thereof should be able in some sort to protect themselves against the violence of their enemies.

But I am inclined to think that the untrue conclu-

sion expressed in the above stated saying, is drawn from premises no less false; for I hear it by many asserted that the female is born with a weaker intellect than the male. Now, theoretically, this should be false: for all through animal nature, that faculty, whatever it be, which is peculiar to the species, is possessed in an equal degree by both the sexes. Thus, the scent of the hound, or the wiliness of the fox, or the imitateness of the monkey, differeth not one whit, whether the animal be male or female; and as reason, and a sharp discernment of the relations of things, is the peculiar faculty of man, so we might, by analogy, conclude that the female of the species possessed it in an equal degree: but we find a yet stronger argument in the anatomy of the brain, which is the organ whereby rational conclusions are shaped and elaborated: for here is no defect, but the contrary; for in regard to the proportion that the brain beareth to the body, the female is no ways behind the male, but rather exceedeth in the quantity thereof; neither is there any organ or part wanting therein, of those which the male brain doth possess. With regard to the use made thereof, I have already remarked that the education afforded to the female sex is not generally of such a nature, as, considering the advance of science, was to be expected: and yet despite of these disadvantages, there have been examples enough in almost every science, and especially in that most uninviting and severe one of the mathematics, to show that there is no lack of power, were it duly cultivated. Therefore I hold that this opinion of the intellectual incapacity of the female sex, must be ranked with those presumed truths which it is to be hoped that the enlightenment of the age will soon place among declared errors; and that citizens of the state who have property and lives to

lose, will no longer be told that they have no concern in the policy which may bring both into jeopardy. I have heard much of "feminine accomplishments," and "feminine virtues," as if the two sexes were of entirely different species, and had no concerns in common; but I must freely confess, however strange it may seem to those who are freer in the use of this phrase than they are haply clear in the understanding of it, that I never yet could discover which they be. For should we term painting or music such accomplishments, there are abundance of the male sex as well as the female, who excel in them, and therefore they do not of nature belong to either; and for the so called "feminine virtues," if any will tell me of a virtue which becometh a woman, that doth not also become a man, I shall be wiser thereafter than the Gospel hath made me.

"Marriage is a lottery,"

To them that choose to make it so; for if a farmer going to a market where samples of corn or beeves are exposed for sale, shall determinately shut his eyes, and purchase the one upon which some chance shall cause him to lay his hand, I know no law to prevent it; save that, if it were often done, his next of kin might perchance sue for a writ *de lunatico inquirendo*: but since marriage is, for the most part, done once for all, the individual can, if he will, make this kind of lottery of it: for however great the folly, it would want that succession of proof which would enable the chancellor to allow relations to interfere in the way of restraint. How the saying arose, I am at a loss to tell, unless it were in those times when parents selected husbands for their daughters, and wives for their sons, in their nonage: it might then be held a lottery what the infant thus

betrotted might prove to be when grown to maturity : and perchance, as sayings last long after the circumstances which gave rise to them, this, which was a true condemnation of a bad practice in its first use, hath now grown into a proverbial justification of a practice equally bad : for to take him or her who is to be the companion of our future life, by mere chance, and without inquiry, bringeth us back to those times whereof this saying was the approach. Yet we do not see that a servant who may at any time be discharged at a month's notice, and trouble us no farther, is received into our houses without a strict inquiry into former conduct, ability, and disposition : a strange instance of prudence in the lesser matter, coupled with carelessness in the greater. And though something might be said in excuse on the part of the man, inasmuch as the law of this realm of England, as I have before noted, giveth him a kind of mastership over his wife which savoureth of that law of the strongest which barbarous times do affect, and thus he may think her temper and conduct of the less import,—what is the woman thinking of when she taketh to herself a master whose character she hath not sought to ascertain ! Is she ignorant that, by the sanction of this same law of England, he can imprison her in any room in his house, so long as he himself is an inhabitant thereof ;—that he may strike her, so long as he inflicteth no severe bodily injury ; that he may leave her and live in adultery with another, but if, when thus abandoned she can earn money to support herself, or come into an inheritance from her family, he can claim and take it from her, for the use of himself and his paramour ? Knoweth she not this ? and if she do, what term shall we find for the folly of her who maketh it a lottery whether all this may not be her lot ?—I speak not here of the

law which surely hath strange and ugly features for an age that boasteth itself as a polished one ; but I do say that whilst the law is such as to make marriage a legal slavery for the woman, lightened only of its burdensomeness by the temper and just feelings of a good man, who would abhor to use the wicked privileges thus allowed him ; it behoveth her, ere she so bind herself, to know thoroughly the habits and principles of him whom she trusteth with such large authority over her. A Christian in principle would not avail himself of such a law ; as indeed he blusheth now, to see it recorded among those of his country : but the world's code of honor affordeth no security against it, as daily experience too sadly showeth. Let every woman then beware, and take heed that her future peace be not thrown away in this "lottery : " and let every man beware also, lest with all these privileges of law, he should find that a bad woman can make them all of none avail, and bring him to confess that he had better have looked ere he made that headlong leap, led thereto by a fair face hiding an evil heart.

" You cannot put an old head on young shoulders."

IF in the saying which standeth above, it be only intended to be affirmed that we cannot expect to gather the blossom and pluck the fruit of the same tree at the same season, or in other phrase, to find in a youth who hath not yet numbered twenty years, the experience of one of twice or thrice that age ; it may be reckoned among those self-evident propositions which persons might well spare themselves the trouble of putting forth or iterating, and can as little be gainsaid, as that gray hairs are more to be looked for on the head of an old man than on that of a youth. But if more than this be supposed to be

contained by implication in the saw I have mentioned, methinks it is not only dubious, but capable of large error. The wise Lord Bacon hath said that "a man that is young in years may be old in hours, if he have lost no time ; but," he addeth,—alack that the world should have profited so little by his wisdom!—"that happeneth rarely." Now that it is good that the young should be merry and happy, it must be a sorry cynic that would deny; but that mirth and joy may be all the better for having wisdom, goodness, and learning, in their company, must be admitted by all: and if the training of the young be such as shall lead them to seek and delight in such things, they will indeed be less giddy and perturbed on all occasions, but not a whit the less happy.

Should it be a question how this saying hath become current in the world, it may be considered that it is a very facile and convenient mode of shifting the burden from our own shoulders to those of dame Nature: yet is she not blameworthy in this matter, for she hath given abundance of brains to the young, and if they be not taught to use them, it is not her fault, but the parents'.

We have examples enough of the early putting forth of such buds of wisdom as have matured into goodly fruit, to prove that such things may be: but if ye shall be at the pains of inquiring whether the present fashion of indoctrinating youth, as well boys as maidens, be of a kind to supply by thought and cogitation what is lacking in experience, ye shall surely find that there is some main error at the bottom of the present plan of education; since the best fruits of it are wanting. Yet is there not any lack of power in the brain, for ye shall oft times see a lad of sixteen or seventeen years of age, possessed

of many acquirements not to be gained without hard study. Such an one will be well grounded in Greek, Latin, and the mathematics, and these are not to be learned without some thought; but this glorious faculty whereby man doth so rise above the brutes, is for the most part left uncultivated, or only called into action by the dread of the pedagogue:—the memory indeed, is disciplined, but the reason left untrained. For proof hereof ye have but to look at the course of a young man's life: at school first, then at the university, and lastly under the especial training for his profession or trade be it what it may, wherein the fashion of empirical teaching doth so generally prevail, that ye shall rarely find a tutor or instructor of youth anywhere, who is either able or willing to answer those questions on the foundations of science, of law, or of commerce, which suggest themselves to an ingenuous mind; and thus all teaching resolveth itself into a set of dogmatic rules for particular cases, rather than broad principles, whereon the tyro may ground general conclusions, such as may guide him on other occasions than the one in question.

And if this be true as regardeth youth of the male sex, how much more biting an evil is it as regardeth the female: for the teachers themselves, being for the most part ill and insufficiently instructed, dare not step beyond the mere setting of lessons to be learned by rote; from which so little of wisdom is to be gained, that ye shall frequently find the old shoulders surmounted by a very childish head, as far as regardeth the brain furniture, however it may externally bear the signs of age.

Many are the complaints made in this age, of the neglect of education; and truly I do hold them to be well founded: but I do also note that what is called

education, though it may raise the recipients thereof above the depths of brutal ignorance, is far off from a training to wisdom. A young maiden is kept in the nursery and the school-room, like a ship on the stocks, whilst she is furnished with abundance of showy accomplishments, and is launched like the ship, looking taught and trim, but empty of everything that can make her useful. What captain would undertake to go a voyage in such a vessel? He would naturally say, I must have store of all that is needful to meet the storms of winter, the attacks of enemies, the wear and tear of the voyage. And wherein is the maiden better qualified to meet the rubs and storms of life? What store of knowledge hath she to enable her to meet the wintry period of life cheerfully? What mental firmness to withstand the enemies of her virtue? What good common sense to meet the wear and tear of everyday life?—She is a doll to be played with, not a companion to cheer, or a wise friend to guide, or to help in the buffetings of ill-fortune. Yet if we will mark those persons of both sexes, who, —by circumstances, which, though deemed unto-ward, were God's schooling for the mind,—have had all the powers of thinking and acting early called forth; we shall see that they have proved themselves equal to the demands made upon them. Now if wise and gentle training were, during early life, made to perform the part of hard necessity, the same good effect might be secured without the pain and harass; and children might be accustomed to employ their reason on the ordinary business of life, without foregoing any branch of useful learning, or losing any of those refreshments and delights which the great Creator hath provided for the young and innocent. For a better system of teaching,

where the reason rather than the memory should be taxed, would make learning less the drudgery of one who fears punishment, than the pleasant occupation of the intellect; and thus would it both occupy less time, and be far more useful for the affairs of life; where we never find that set rules will serve us for every variety of circumstance, but where general principles are needed for guidance on fresh occasions and must thus be applied *pro re nata*, as we are wont to say in our prescriptions. Were such training given to the young, I think the saying I have commented on, would not be so general: for it would then be seen that a wise and experienced head *can* be placed on young shoulders; and that nothing is needful thereto but the careful and early use of the faculties God hath given.

“*Ne sutor ultra crepidam.*”*

ALBEIT this saying be ancient, it is not without its harm in modern times also; for it is a cruelty to attempt to bound the expansion of the human intellect because the law of nature may have required the labor of the hand to minister to the maintenance of the body: and to scoff at the endeavor to rise above the mire of daily toil, and soar in the empyrean of spiritual enjoyments for a short space, showeth a small share of the brotherly feeling which should exist among the followers of Christ. Moreover the maxim, if attended to, would be hurtful to mankind generally; for many of our most useful discoveries, and much that doth most delectate our imagination, have been the work of persons who would never have benefited or delighted their cotemporaries and posterity, had they thereby been deterred

* Let not the shoemaker go beyond his last.

from engaging in pursuits very little germane to their worldly calling. The lawyer would never have written poetry, nor the priest invented machinery: yea Friar Bacon would have left us without gunpowder, which, albeit it hath its evils, yet hath served man much more effectually than it hath injured: and even in times nearer to the period wherein that saying had its rise, Cicero himself would never have left us that rich legacy of pure morality and wise philosophy, had he confined himself to *his* last; videlicet, the labors of the forum; nor earlier yet, would Socrates have become the listener to Anaxagoras while he was yet engaged with the chisel in his father's shop, had he had any such notion. Nay, he who first spake it showed more of the spite of mortified vanity, than the sense of a wise man; for though a shoemaker's business be with the foot only, yet if he had made any use of his eyes he could not fail to be cognizant of other parts of the body also, in a country and time when men were so little chary of their skin, that there was scarcely any part thereof that did not daily see the sun. It hardly deserved, therefore, the long currency it hath had.

"A little learning is a dangerous thing."

I know not whether when Mr. Pope wrote these words, he had himself felt that his small knowledge of Greek had betrayed him into some inaccuracies in his translation of Homer, and therefore he was in anger with his own "little learning;" but this I do know, that the lines have been quoted largely to countenance an indolence that human nature is already too prone to, without the further aid of a popular poet. For in good sooth, he that never beginneth can never end; and he who would have

much learning, must begin his labors with a little ; therefore I do hold this to be one of those fallacies which throw an obstacle in the way of improvement, and therefore ought to be removed from the path.

Science duly followed up doth elevate man to his greatest perfection ; but even a small tincture thereof is not unuseful, for thereby is the mind rescued from that utter brutishness which leaveth it the mere tool of sensual and animal desires ; and he who seeketh learning because he would not leave unused any of God's good gifts, will be in no danger of drawing therefrom any of that idle vanity which hath no part in the character of a good Christian. Every approach, however distant, to the enjoyment and appreciation of spiritual pleasures,—and of this class are learning and science,—is an approach also towards a capability of that immortality of spiritual happiness which is promised us, and they who discourage such attempts in those large classes of mankind who are necessitated to live by their daily toil, do ill service to God, by arresting his creatures in their progress towards the fulfilment of their great end and aim. Why should not the humblest begin in this life the course of instruction which hereafter is to receive its completion, in “knowing even as we are known?”

“ I will retire from business, and prepare for another world.”

WHO is there who hath not heard some honest, painstaking man uttering some such saying as this, when old age is coming on? Yet well meant as this may be, and plausible as it soundeth to the unthinking, I know no greater, though alack no more common error than this notion, that the common engagements of this world are a hinderance to our preparation for

the next; for I do surely believe, and think I have the warrant of Scripture and reason therefor, that we were sent into this probationary state to the end that our souls might learn experience among the diverse circumstances of active life, so as to know good from evil, and never to hazard the falling from glory when once attained, by any such mistake as was committed by those spirits that kept not their first estate. But if we retire from temptation, we deny ourselves the schooling which God appointed for our better teaching, and so far from avoiding the temptation to evil, we increase it tenfold. For there is no such good friend to virtue as that useful weariness which leaveth no time for a selfish cogitation over the means of gratifying the animal nature: yea, he who, in his daily charge, be it what it may, hath been just and true, hath taken no undue advantage, nor oppressed any, if rich;—who hath served truly, and in no way defrauded his employers, either by negligence or dishonesty, if poor;—and who hath lived in Christian love and amity with all his fellow men, whether connected with him by blood or otherwise; hath prepared well for another world, albeit his prayers may have been short, and his time actively employeed, even to his dying day.

It is not for our “much speaking” that we shall be heard; and the brief but earnest aspiration of the heart towards God, which a wise and good man doth use to sanctify the business of the day withal, while pursuing the avocations of this world, hath in it more of the vitality of religion than the dawdling meditations of one who maketh prayer the object of his life, rather than the means of leading that life aright. We pray for aid to perform our duties; but to use many prayers, and perform few duties, is but a mockery and a folly: for man thus disguiseth to

his own conscience his cowardice and indolence, and fancieth that he is pious and virtuous, whilst in truth he is only idle and useless. Doubtless there is a time when increasing infirmity may make a man shrink from the fatigue of business which affordeth no respite from toil: but then this greater quietude is but a concession necessarily made to the needs of the body, and is not at all to be considered as the means of improving the health of the soul: on the contrary, we have all seen and known, that it must be a strong and well disciplined mind which can resist the natural propension towards the vices which arise out of this state of inaction; such as peevishness, selfishness, and consequent carelessness of the comfort and happiness of others.

When we entertain any doubt as to the soundness of our opinions, there is nothing which doth so strengthen and clear our apprehension, as the recurring to what Lord Bacon doth well term the great book of God's works. Now we know that when Adam fell from his first estate, God imposed on him a law, which experience showeth to be still the law of human nature, that "in the sweat of his brow he should eat bread." No man can propound to himself that the loving Father of all his works would either inflict a punishment for vengeance rather than for amendment on the first offender, or replenish the surface of this globe with beings disqualified, by the very law of their existence, from the pursuit and attainment of their ultimate good: we may, therefore, reasonably conclude that the toil imposed on man was intended to be the strengthener and safeguard of his virtue, and to guide his frailty in the true path to life eternal. We see it to be the appointment of God,—for what he suffereth is so far his appointment, that he might prevent it, and doth not:—I say

we see it to be the appointment of God that millions must go forth to their daily toil, if they mean to eat their daily food; nay, the very necessity for food, which is the cause of this labor, is especially created by God. Then if such be the order written in the book of His works, we must, unless we are determined to shut our eyes, and not read therein, conclude that retirement and inaction are not the circumstances best fitted for the development of the spiritual life within: which doth indeed rather thrive and flourish upon the fulfilled duty of each day; even if it were no more than the conscientiously doing an honest day's work, for the allotted day's pay, whether seen or not: and in like manner, vice pineth and dieth in the mind, when quiet sleep, the result of labor, filleth the hours which are not given either to active employ; or to the exercise of those kindly social affections, which so readily twine about the heart, when the space for their enjoyment is short, and the zest of their enjoyment is not dulled by satiety.

Instead therefore of seeking a discharge from all duty, as the means of improving the soul, whose true life is the fulfilment of duty, we should endeavor rather, as age approaches, to cut out for ourselves occupation sufficient for the diminished powers of the body, such as shall give room for the exercise of that concern for others, and carelessness of self, which form the best grace of youth, and which may still hover, like a bright halo round the head of age, making gray hairs lovely, and giving earnest, even in this life, of what will be the society of "just men made perfect," in the next.

*“The poor beetle that we tread upon,
In corporal sufferance finds a pang as great
As when a giant dies.”*——

SHAKSPEARE.

THE poet hath sometimes a knowledge that may astound us of many things which, pertaining as they do, to human nature generally, he hath, as it were, with him in his closet, they being in his own spirit: but of those things which are external to him he cannot have farther cognizance than others of his age and country; and, regarding those, he doth only repeat, and thereby perpetuate, the fashion of his own times. And herein I note an error, inasmuch as his words oftentimes gain undue weight in those latter cases from his acknowledged skill in the first. For it doth in no way derogate from his marvelous powers, to say that such fashion of the time may be ill grounded, so far as regardeth science, since the business of the poet is to delectate the imagination, and mend the heart, by his lively pictures of human nature; not to become a teacher of natural history or philosophy; therefore if, in noting popular errors, I note also a mistake of the above quoted most honored writer, I hold myself in no way disrespectful to his memory.

Now I would commend to notice that though the fins of fish, in regard to the arrangement of the bones, be typical of the human hand, no one will affirm them to be capable of executing the office whereto our hands are appointed: yet it would be expecting nearly such a miracle as the exercise of manual dexterity by a fish, were we to attribute the like power of feeling to a beetle, whose nerves are dependent on many separate ganglia, as belongeth to a being in whose large brain all the sensations conveyed by the spinal cord from the delicately sensitive

skin, are concentrated, and held up, as it were, for reason to take cognizance of, and relieve them when painful. Reasoning from analogy, we cannot either assert or credit this, for in the human body the action of the viscera is for the most part confided to the regulation of such a set of ganglia and their dependent nerves, connected but slightly with the brain; and no one needeth to be told that these actions do proceed with so little of consciousness on our part, that a man shall hardly know if his heart beateth or his stomach digesteth, save when disease interrupteth these functions: the natural conclusion herein would therefore be, even if direct experiment had not confirmed it, that a system of ganglia of this kind ministereth little, if at all, to sensation. And furthermore, doth the beetle need human keenness? Is it the wont of the Almighty to bestow powers which can never be exercised? What purpose doth sensitiveness to pain serve, if not that of a faithful and ever ready monitor to make us vigilant against such accidents and circumstances as were formerly the occasion thereof? And to what shall it profit a worm beneath the sod that it should have power to feel, and a smarting reason to dread those haps and chances, against which it hath neither wit to devise, nor skill to execute defences? Such a boon surely were a gift more worthy of a demon than of the God whose name is love. And should any object to this scientific truth, that it may breed cruelty to God's creatures; I answer that they *are* his creatures; and, therefore, that while he who loveth cruelty would not be restrained, even if the beetle had a human frame; he that loveth God will respect even the smallest impress of his hand. Nor is our estimate of the greatness and goodness of the Creator hereby lessened, but rather increased; inasmuch as

where he hath not given means of escape, he hath not given acute sensibility to suffering. Let no man then call this an imperfection in his work; for in our humble way, even if a man excel in fashioning the most exactly mechanical chronometer, who shall think it scorn if he make also a mousetrap? On the contrary, doth he not rather, in that he can well make a trap for humble service, and a clock for time, to the guidance of the mariner in safety through long voyages, distantly image Him who hath placed the fish in the sea for its humble satisfaction, and man on the earth to prepare for eternity. Our God bestoweth no powers that cannot work for good;—life, and consequently its preservation, is of value to man, inasmuch as it is the shell of the nut laid up for immortality, which shall hardly gain its full proportions if the shell be destroyed: to the animal of lower grade, life deprived of sensual gratification would be a punishment; they are, therefore, suffered to become the prey of other animals ere they suffer decrepitude, and their nervous system is such as maketh their doom no evil.

“It is only a white lie.”

THERE is nothing more harmful to virtue than the habit of dwelling always on the confines of vice; for as we find the borderers in all countries do speak a sort of bastard tongue, which savoreth of both the neighboring languages; so he who liveth always in the vicinage of evil, will hardly keep his good pure and unmixed. I have, therefore, many times wondered how the phrase of “white lies” came into so common usage; for, if I mistake not, falsehood hath so much of the Æthiop about it, that no soap will wash it white. Nay, even its progeny at three or four removes, will still retain an ugly mulatto tinge.

“It is only a white lie,” saith one, “it harmeth no one.” But of such an one I would ask, harmeth it not thyself? will thy memory be as strong if it be never exercised in accuracy of recollection, as it will be where the anxiety never to transgress the exact truth, causeth a close attention to all circumstances, which are afterwards to be related as they happened, rather than embellished with imaginary adjuncts? Furthermore, doth any one ever tell a direct falsehood for the first time without embarrassment and blushes? and is not this the safeguard which God himself hath appointed to our virtue, so that the first step in evil being so painful, we shall have no inclination to make a second. Is it no harm to thee if by habit thou lose thy sensibility to this voice of the good Spirit of God, which is sent to guide thee in the right road to heaven? Nay, even as regardeth our worldly convenience, it is rare if he who is known to tell “white lies” with so little of inward concern as to reveal no trace of it in his face, shall gain credit for his serious words. Confidence between man and man is thus shaken, and that most sweet consciousness of having striven to assimilate ourselves to God in the most essential attribute of his being, is altogether lost.

It is said of the philosopher Xenocrates, that when an oath was proffered to him, previous to giving his testimony in a court of justice, the Athenians with one voice cried out, that it was an insult to demand an oath from a man who never in his life had uttered a falsehood; and he was not allowed to be sworn. Now it is to be noted of this philosopher, that when he was sent on an embassy to King Philip of Macedonia, that astute monarch, after his departure, declared, that Xenocrates was the only one of the Athenian

chiefs whom he had been unable to bribe. Such near friends are truth and honesty.

And what is the object of these "white lies?" Vanity it may be, that men may say we tell a good story; or it may be that we seek to entertain the company by telling with a grave face to a friend some untruth, which if he believe, he shall thereby become an object of ridicule. But is this to be deemed an exact squaring of our actions by the golden rule of—"Do unto others as ye would they should do unto you?" For, methinks, few do readily abide the being flouted and jeered at themselves, however well inclined they may be to jeer at others. And here, again, the loss doth in the end redound to ourselves; as indeed it doth whensoever we break any law of God: for many a man hath lost a friend who would otherwise have been a true and a good one, by unseasonable jesting of this kind. And indeed I hold it generally to be a vulgar error, deserving of reprobation, to fancy that God's laws are inscrutable, and hard to practise as regardeth this world; for I know no precise law of the Gospel which hath not a direct view to our well-being in this present world, insomuch that the very politeness which is enforced in society as requisite to the comfort and decorum thereof, is nothing more than a feeble copy of the Christian graces which Saint Paul hath enumerated in the thirteenth chapter of his first Epistle to the Corinthians. Without some truth we know well that society could not go on, and it is an ill cleverness which striveth to weigh how small a portion of it may serve worldly purposes; for the soul in the meantime is abridged of its proper food, and pineth and wasteth away in a hopeless atrophy.

OF GENIUS.

Among the many errors common in the world, there is no one more common, or more hurtful, than the vulgar opinion respecting genius: namely, that it is an especial gift from heaven, whereby men become accomplished in science or art, without any sweat of their own brow; a happiness which hath befallen no man, I think, since Adam: and yet we may daily hear persons excuse themselves from pursuing this or that study, because "they have no genius for it"—a manifest self-deception; since excepting in the instance of music, wherein the fineness of the organ supersedeth some of the rudimentary part of learning, and a child shall thus be found sometimes to accomplish at once, what to others would cost a longer application, I know of nothing that is to be gained without labour. Nay, even among these early prodigies, though for children their skill be marvelous, yet if this precocious display of talent be not followed up by farther teaching and exercitations, maturer years will disappoint the early promise: and yet in this case the tools are in a measure ready made, and their use familiar; for the voice can execute, without schooling, much of what the ear demandeth. But in other things it is not so—the painter must learn the art of mixing and laying on of colors by a deep study of the nature of the materials, and a long experience of their effect; their "behavior" under particular circumstances, as it may be an experimental chemist would shape his phrase. The sculptor, however great his concep-

tions, must learn to temper and mould the clay of his model, and to use the chisel skillfully: and if artists had disdained this patient toil, and trusted to their heaven-born genius, the world would never have been delectated by the sight of their works; which yet we shall hear men term efforts of such sublime genius that no one who is not so gifted can ever hope to rival them. Could one of these supine admirers of excellence ask these men how they arrived at such a point of perfection, both in their conception and execution, he would hear of days and nights devoted to unremitting toil with a perseverance which nothing could daunt: and will discover at last, that this envied gift of genius is nothing else than a mind cultivated with an industry which others shrink from, through their laziness of intellect. The proper answer to a person who should thus laud an artist's genius at the expense of his diligence, exclaiming, "*I should never accomplish this if I were to work for my whole life,*"—would be, "*Work as I have done for two years only, and see what will come thereof.*"—But thou shalt find that thy admirer of genius will never consent to an application as severe as the so called gifted individual imposeth on himself: but will go away repeating his parrot-like words, in the hope of satisfying himself in his supinity, and persuading both himself and others, that his idleness is no sin; and so he will fancy that he hath established an axiom, when he hath only delivered himself of a declaration that he is too indolent ever to excel.

Nor is this true in regard to art alone; for the mathematician, however powerful his mind, must submit to long and wearisome calculations: the chemist, the natural philosopher, the anatomist, must trace the course of nature with patient toil, ere they

attain to any of those discoveries which, when made, are hailed by the world as the offspring of an almost divine intellect. Kepler was contented to devote two and twenty years to his calculations, ere he was enabled to publish those true views of science which have made his name immortal. Never did any coin come fresher, and sharper stamped, from the very mint of genius: for those views overturned all the time-honored notions of circular movements among the heavenly bodies, and introduced that new principle of the ellipse, which has led to all that master-ship of astronomical science that later observers have attained to. But had he suffered his indolence to have whispered to him during the failures and difficulties of that long period,—“It is useless to pursue this, which I have evidently no genius for; eight or ten years have been wasted in trying to advance, and I have made no progress,”—the world would have lost one of the brightest names in the list of its great men; and mariners might still have been exposed to those fearful dangers of the sea, which his discoveries in science have now taught men so far to master. But Kepler had confidence in human nature, and he persevered.

Doubtless it is the man who feeleth most deeply the nobleness of the gift of reason which God hath bestowed upon him, who will address himself the most diligently to the work of making it available “for the glory of the Creator, and the relief of man’s estate,”—and this, as I believe, is the true secret of genius. He trusteth to his Lord that the talent entrusted to him will bring rich interest, if it be duly used, and he doth so use it; for in this trade there is no fear of bankruptcy. Wrapped in the napkin, it doth but tarnish, and cometh back to the hands of

his Lord the worse for its want of wear. Let him, then, who would have genius, wrestle for it as the patriarch Jacob wrestled with the angel of the Lord, and though the night-long struggle may leave his body the weaker, his point will have been gained.

OF SOME ERRORS RESPECTING THE NATURE OF EVIL SPIRITS.

WHILST treating of vulgar and frequent errors in men's notions of things, methinks those which are so generally current respecting evil spirits, deserve specially to be examined; for not only be there many falsehoods thus received as truths, but these falsehoods do minister as it were, and pander to the ill dispositions of men; and furnish an excuse wherewith to salve a wounded conscience, without applying the sharp caustic of a true and fruit-bearing repentance. And truly the common and vulgar notion of the Evil One doth so much trench upon the attributes of God, that when we have, according to the adage, "given the devil his due,"—such as the vulgar apprehension of the great mass of the people doth make it, I know not what distinction we leave for the Deity. For the common notion is, that the devil doth tempt us to evil by suggestions whereof we have no note but the feeling such or such thoughts or desires; and of the millions which are now living on the face of the earth, almost every one at this moment that I am writing, will be sensible of something within or without him that warreth against perfection: "It is the devil—the tempter,"—saith the unreasoning believer: but is he then omnipresent, the attribute of Infinity? His suggestions, it is said, are to our thoughts; but what can read them save Omniscience? Is God so wont to give his honor to another, that he will thus throw two of the brightest jewels of his crown of

perfection to a creature in rebellion against him? "It is for the trial of our faith," saith the unreasoning believer: then doth the temptation come primarily from God: but this Scripture doth forbid us to conceive; for saith the apostle, "Let no man say he is tempted of God, when he is led away of *his own lusts*, and enticed,"* by that animal nature, namely, which we hold in common with the brutes, and which requireth the control of the rational part of us to keep it within due bounds, so that the soul may not be imbued with the taint of unruly earthly desires. And this notion of the extreme power of the devil is the growth of the last two or three centuries; for we shall find all the legendary tales of the middle ages, figuring the evil spirit with the characteristics of the satyr of the Ethnicks; easily foiled and cheated by man, and vanquished often, in strength or in wit, by the saint whom he assailed, by bodily, not by spiritual temptations; for I know of no instance among early legends, when the tempter is represented as a merely spiritual being.

Good Doctor Martin Luther, who may be considered as the father of our reformed churches, speaketh of devils visiting his chamber in the shapes of animals; a clear deception of the senses, caused by undue excitement of the brain; but also in his calmer moments he describeth devils as melancholy spirits, inhabiting marshes, and desolate places, and ruins; and not by any means as having that ubiquity which is now attributed to the universal tempter. Now this description of the devil, given by him, is exactly that which the ancients did give of their *δαίμων*, or *demon*, by the which word they described the spirit of a dead man after it hath quitted the body; for,

* James i. 13, 14.

they, conceiving it to have a separate existence, did imagine it to be a wandering, and somewhat unhappy being, specially inhabiting deserts and desolate places, or marshy forests, such as were then to be found in Britain; which country was, for that cause, then thought to be a special residence of demons. Nor was this word understood by the Greeks in a bad sense; for every disembodied spirit was, in their phrase, a demon; good, or bad, according to the disposition of the former man. In those days, when the apparently eternal stars were held to be spiritual existences, self-moved, and divine, it was an easy transition to imagine the bright *ignes fatui*, so commonly seen in the night in marshy places, to have a something of this divinity also, and thus it came to be thought that if the stars were gods, these fiery exhalations which did glance and move about, now seen, and now disappearing, were the appearances of that half divinity, the soul of man: and thus came the marshes of Britain and other places, to be peopled in imagination with these demons, or disembodied souls: a belief which, like the Zabianism, or star-worship, whereof it was part and parcel, did spread nearly over the world in former times.

But there was also a form of this Zabianism which grew into more fame about the time of Darius the son of Hystaspes, through the intervention of Zoroaster, under the title of the Magian doctrine; whereby the influences of the world were held to be divided between the Good and Evil Principle; the one typified by the sun and light,—the other by the night and darkness; these two principles being co-eternal, and in constant opposition to each other. This doctrine, which spread widely over the Persian empire and its dependencies, tainted, in many instances, the later Jewish faith, no less than that of demons

which they had learned from the Greeks, and haply also from the Egyptians: and in the embodiment of Satan, first in the book of Job, written at a time when Zabianism was prevalent,* and after that in the writings of the Rabbins, we find a mixture of the Magian Evil Principle, and the Greek demon, with somewhat of their own faith besides. This was the prevalent superstition in the times of our Saviour Jesus Christ: and all violent diseases were held to be caused by the intervention of demons, or souls of dead men, who, when ill-disposed, were supposed to enter into the living body of another man, and thus to inflict torment upon the person thus possessed; which superstition our Saviour doth well describe, when he illustrateth his rebuke to the men of that generation, by the example of the unclean spirit, that when expelled, walketh through desert, or desolate places, till he finally returneth with a company of seven others worse than himself, to torment the same man: in which description we see plainly that the spirit here spoken of was none other than the before mentioned δαίμων of the Greeks, as well as the devil of the famous Doctor Martin Luther. But now, to the unlearned much confusion of ideas hath arisen from the constant translation of δαίμων, or *demon*, by *devil*; because they attach to this latter word a meaning which it is likely the first translators never meant to give to it, "He hath a devil and is mad,"† is a description at once of the assumed disease, and the imagined cause thereof.

I have many times thought that it was owing to the lofty and grandiose descriptions given in the *Paradise Lost*, that men, since the time when that

* See Job xxxi. 26—28.

† John x. 20. Δαιμόνιον ἔχει καὶ μαίνεται.

poem came to be popular, have invested Satan with a kind of attributes never before assigned to him; and as was natural to the increasing spirituality of religion, have more and more divested him of the notion of locality and form, till the Evil One of this age is become in effect and conceit of men, the Evil Principle of the Magians: i. e., a power co-existing with, and warring against the will of the good Deity. And this I must note as a most pestilent error, equally unauthorized by Scripture and by reason: and if any shall imagine this notion of theirs to be borne out by some passages which are freely quoted on such occasions, I must remind the unlearned reader, first, that as I have said already, many passages translated *devil* are in the original *demon* (δαίμων) and that when the word *diabolus* (διάβολος) occurreth, this term, in common parlance, meaneth an accuser or slanderer, as when the apostle reproacheth the women who are *diaboli*, i. e., slanderers.* It is to be farther borne in mind that the Christians of that day were pursued by the heathen with all manner of calumnies: and this will help us to the true application of many of the passages where this word is used in the Epistles of the Apostles, where it generally applies to those accusers of the faithful; as when 1 Tim. iii. 7, it is required that the bishop shall have a good report from them which are without, i. e., the heathen, “*lest he fall into reproach, and the snare of the slanderer,*” or *informer*,† (διάβολος.) In like manner the apostle Peter, in the fourth chapter of his first epistle, having warned his converts not to be terrified at the fiery trial

* 1 Tim. iii. 11. Γυναῖκας ὡσάντως σεμνάς μὴ διαβόλους... Tit. ii. 3. Πρεσβυτιδας ὡσαύτως ἐν κατασήμετι ἰεροπρεπεις μὴ διαβόλους...

† Δει δε αὐτον καὶ μαρτυρίαν καλὴν ἔχειν ἀπὸ τῶν ἔξωθεν, ἵνα μὴ εἰς ὀνειδισμὸν ἐμπέσῃ καὶ παγίδα τυ διαβολου.

of persecution, proceedeth in chap. v. 8,* to recommend them to be sober-minded and vigilant: because their slanderous accuser was walking daily among them, seeking his prey: whom they were to resist, by steadfastly adhering to their Christian faith; knowing, also, that not the Christians only, but their brethren that were in the world; i. e., the unconverted heathen, suffered the like afflictions. For it is well known that from the days of Tiberius, downwards, the informers so frequently held up to detestation by Tacitus, the historian, under the title of *delatores*, were the very scourge of society; no man being safe from their pestilent accusations.

Much more might be said which the learned critic will not want my aid to discover, and which to the unlearned would haply seem wearisome, I shall not, therefore, pursue this examination of words, but call upon those who have hitherto so lightly received this notion respecting the great might of the tempter, to review it by the light of reason and common sense: for where were the goodness of God, had he endowed a wicked Spirit with such power over the minds of men, as to leave them small chance of distinguishing between his suggestions and those of the ever blessed Spirit of Grace? Such a thing cannot be for a moment supposed of the loving Father, who hath so cared for our well being in all things: we may, therefore, well conclude, that be these fallen angels what they may, as to their inherent nature and state, their influence over us must be very slight,

* Νήψατε, γρηγορήσατε ὅτι ὁ ἀντίδικος ὑμῶν διάβολος, ὡς λέων ἀρπύζωνος περιπατεῖ ζητῶν τίνα καταπίη. φ, ἀντιστητε σεσοί τῇ πικρί, εἰδότες τα αὐτα τῶν παθημάτων τῇ ἐν κόσμῳ ὑμῶν ἀδελφοτητι ἐπιτελεῖσθαι: wherein it may be observed that the lack of the Article to the word diabolus doth deprive it of its Substantive sense and make it in a manner an Adjective to ἀντίδικος.

if not altogether null: and the worst tempter will be found to be that evil spirit in a fair form,—the corrupt soul of man; for bad companions are for the most part the real seducers of the unwary; and it is not an invisible suggestion that leadeth us astray, but early misgovernment, and the remembrance of evil books, evil conversation, and evil example which taint us with the infection of sin; a poison which may be met by the antidote of wise and holy instruction previously administered, but which when received without such preparation is for the most part deadly. Thus bad men by making themselves the willing promoters of sin here, fit themselves to be the companions of the Evil One hereafter, and are indeed his angels or agents upon earth.

AN INQUIRY IF IGNORANCE BE REQUISITE TO INNOCENCE.

PLAUSIBLE errors be like wild roses: they bear indeed here and there a pleasant blossom, but it soon falleth: and their thick offsets do choke the growth of better things. Among these well sounding errors, I reckon the notion held by some, that innocence is only to be preserved by ignorance of evil. Truly it were a pleasant thing to him who is weary of contemplating the vices and miseries of mankind, to think that there were means of closing eyes, and ears, and understanding, so as never to have cognizance of these ills: but it is childish to sigh after what is clearly impossible; and even were this possible, I doubt much if our happiness, either present or future, would be so great as now it may be, if we do only avail ourselves of the real use of knowing the evil, by choosing of our own free will the good, and persevering in the pursuit thereof. For to *know* evil, and to *do* it, are two widely different things.

The only man who ever had full cognizance of human nature, was he who being himself the bodily shrine of the Deity, and his own human soul in perfect union with its Divine Prototype, could measure the influences of the corporeal on the spiritual by mere self-examination; and we may well believe that when the ever blessed God, as Saint Clement, of Alexandria, doth strongly express it, came as a man, in order through human lips "to teach man how he might become a God," and to be as the Apostle hath it, "an ensample" for our imitation,

we may walk safely under his guidance. Now a very few words of his enemies' reproaches will show that the saying of the heathen, *homo sum et humani nihil a me alienum puto* was not inapplicable to him. He was called by those who, in that age also, thought a separation from the evil world the best safeguard of innocence, "a glutton and a wine-bibber; a friend of publicans and sinners," which terms being taken with that largeness of interpretation which belongeth to the slanders of an enemy,—who generally hath skill enough to ground his ill sayings upon some apparent truth,—would seem to show that this only perfect man who ever trod this earth of ours, mixed among all sorts; as if to show the beauty of holiness, contrasted with the ugliness of vice; and thus to win men from their sins, by making them love virtue better. God, who knoweth all things, seeth every day more sin than the worst of us would care to talk of in common society; yet that complete knowledge of evil, though it saddened, did not corrupt the human soul of the Saviour: he wept for his "brethren according to the flesh;"—abhorred vice, yet loved man;—lived among us,—lived among us too at a season when evil was rife, and when the corruption of society generally had arrived at a point that required no less an intervention than that of God himself to check it. All this he saw and knew, and yet,—with all the infirmities, passions, and temptations of a man,—he passed the dangerous season of youth unspotted; happy in his spiritual union with God, and ready to bear all that evil men could inflict, in order to ensure that union to all eternity.

But he "came for our ensample:" innocence therefore is made of other stuff than ignorance; yea we shall find that it is a substantive rather than a

negative quality; and consisteth not so much in a mere absence of evil,—for then the house might be only swept and garnished to make it a readier home for the demon when he cometh,—as in the presence of good which leaveth no room for him to enter.

And now, having shown that the ignorance of evil is not necessary to innocence, the question remaineth, which to parents and teachers is an anxious one, how the knowledge of it may be communicated without peril to virtue?—and here again that perfect “ensample” leaveth us not to doubt. The knowledge of evil, along with all other knowledge, was communicated to the mind of the child at the earliest age wherein it can receive knowledge; since as his human constitution was perfect in soul and body, so the spiritual union with the Deity was also complete from the first: therefore, to Christ, it was among the first of his recollections as a human being. Doth not this show us that the ordinary course is wrong? We are wont to keep the knowledge of ill from our children as long as possible, so as for the most part to leave it to be instilled into them by those who have a design to corrupt, and therefore paint it in fair colors. It was not so that the young child at Nazareth was educated;—he who, alone, of all men, was educated by God himself. He saw,—for God’s own knowledge was in him,—the full ugliness of vice, and all its eternal consequences, long ere the animal frame had arrived at the point when the voice of the tempter might have its charms; and we have seen the results; strange, that we should never yet have thought of trying the same plan! I do most assuredly think that more make shipwreck of their virtue out of a childish and natural curiosity, and inquisitiveness after new things, than out of any inherent love of evil, and that were the constitution

of animal nature early set forth to the child by parents or teachers, with that gravity which becometh them; and none of those allurements of sensual pleasure held out, which are the great weapons of the tempter; the child, knowing all that he wisheth to know, at a time when as yet the passions are not awakened; would turn his thoughts to other objects of more import, and greater nobleness: and feel disgusted rather than allured by the conversation of the impure and vicious in after life: and this I say from experience and conviction, no less regarding youth of one sex, than the other. I would speak thus, and indeed have so spoken with good effect—
“ My child, man, in his compound nature, belongeth to two worlds; by this mortal and perishable body he is bound to earth, and partaketh of the nature of the beasts; his internal constitution is almost the same; he is generated, born, and dieth like them; but in his soul he holdeth something of the nature of God, and hath the promise that if he duly cherish this divine spark, he shall finally enjoy the felicity proper to God himself. We are placed in this world to choose between animal and spiritual enjoyment; for happiness can only be the result of having and doing what we like to have and do; and therefore God leaveth us free. If we bind ourselves to earth by cherishing all our animal propensions, and thinking about all that pertaineth to our animal nature, rather than to our spiritual, then we, having fixed all our pleasures here, can never enjoy any other kind of life; and when this faileth us, which it doth gradually in age, and entirely in death, we have nothing left but useless regrets: whereas if we only give the body so much consideration as shall keep it in health, and devote ourselves to the pleasures of the mind; then we are every day becoming

more fit for the happiness God hath promised us. Surely we are more noble than the beasts, and it is pleasant to feel our own dignity; yet he that talketh and thinketh only of the things of the body, seemeth to forget that he hath a rank above them. Would a woman wish to become no better than a cow; a useful animal, with no thought above bringing her offspring into the world, and caring for their food? Is man formed with a divine soul merely to run the wild career of an untamed colt; to be broken by stripes to do his part in this world, with no thought beyond it?" Should questions arise out of such a conversation, let them be answered fairly, gravely, and truly. Let the child know what his mother suffered in giving him birth: he will love her the better, and when he cometh to man's estate, that thought of bitter suffering, and danger to life, will make the jest of the libertine sound to his ears like the laugh of the executioner. Nor, because I here use the masculine gender, would I confine this knowledge to that sex only: women no less than men must look into the depths of life, ere they will be able to make that free choice of the good whereon our eternal felicity doth depend: women no less than men are exposed to the arts of the tempter, and have no less need that the childish hand should be trained to use the weapons of defence. Gratify the young mind by bringing before it the wonders of science, not as a drudgery, but a recreation; accustom the child to seek knowledge as pleasure, and there is little fear that youth will be misspent, or old age contemptible.

And here too we may recur to the education of the Saviour, of whose childhood two things are recorded—the first, that at twelve years old he astonished the doctors in the temple by his thirst for knowledge, and the share of it which he had already acquired;—the

other, that this true science, thus bestowed by his Divine Father and Tutor, had no evil effect on his human soul; but that he returned to his home, showed all filial duty to his far more ignorant parents, and won the affection of all by his amiable manners. So true is it that real knowledge causeth no vanity. And herein, before I conclude, I would note one error more common and more fatal than all the rest. Whilst contemplating the Divine ΛΟΓΟΣ which spake by the lips of Jesus of Nazareth, we too often forget his complete human nature, and whilst bowing in distant adoration to the ineffable Deity, we overlook the *man* in whom he enshrined his glory. But God doth nothing in vain: he could have spoken to us in the whirlwind, or have written his commands in characters of fire before our eyes: but he chose to come among us as one of ourselves; he sought to lead us back to him by means of our social affections: to show a human being so amiable that we might love, and imitate because we loved him. Surely then it is the greatest of all errors to cast away the benefits of such an "ensample," and although Christ *lived* in this world upwards of thirty years, to turn our attention only to his *death*. If his life had no benefit for us, why did he go through all the stages of childhood and youth? a better notion is it which I have lately seen expressed. "Christ," says the author, "showed himself among us only as a child and a young man. He well knew that he who followed his steps so far, would need no guide for his old age."

OF ERRORS IN GRAMMAR.

It would seem strange that in an age which doth boast itself as literary, there should be any need to enumerate errors of this kind, as prevalent among those who have received what in common parlance is called a good, or liberal education : yet from whatever cause, whether from carelessness, or conceit of knowledge which maketh study needless, it is a thing certain that many barbarisms have crept into the writing and speaking of English, which a moderate knowledge of grammar would have prevented. It was indeed a common saying in the last age, that this English tongue of ours hath no forms of grammar proper to it; and that therefore reading and writing do, as goodman Dogberry is made to say, "come by nature," without the necessity for any study thereof, save such as is gained by the exercise in the Latin and Greek tongues which in "grammar schools" is required. Yet he who should fancy that he could learn German phraseology and idiom by the study of Latin, would be laughed to scorn by all: why then should it be imagined that the sister dialect hath in it less of grammatical peculiarity.

Unfortunately for lingual purity, the study of grammar hath in it little to captivate the imagination; and most seem to shrink therefrom with a kind of horror, the result of the severities of early pedagogues; and this rendereth the correction of such like errors a task of almost hopeless difficulty; yet that I may acquit mine own conscience, and be in no way an accessory to the murder of the king's or queen's English, I

shall endeavor to point out some of the principal modes of defacing and injuring this our ancient tongue.

I will note in the first place the confusion made in the cases of pronouns by persons of good learning in other matters, for though it be well known that in the Teutonic family of languages generally, the four cases chiefly to be noted in the Greek, from whence the old Teutones appear to have derived the main structure of their language,—do exist,—namely the nominative, genitive, dative, and accusative: and though it be equally well known that our tongue is of that family, and so cognate to the German that the natives of that great country do speak English with a facility unknown to any of the southern nations of Europe,—yet in practice is this matter wholly disregarded; and nominative and accusative are strangely interchanged, to the great discomfort of ears trained to grammatical accuracy. Thus *you* or *ye* may be used indifferently in the nominative: but *you* is always the accusative and dative: and prepositions, it is well known, do not admit a nominative case to follow them. Yet shall we find poets defacing their pages with such oversights as disgrace the following passage, which for its poetic force and depth of feeling did well deserve a less careless phraseology.

“ Oh serious eye, how is it that the light,
 The burning rays that mine pour into *ye*,
 Still find *ye* cold, and dead, and dark as night?
 Oh lifeless eyes, can ye not answer me?
 Oh lips whereon mine own so often dwell,
 Hath love's warm, fearful, thrilling touch, no spell
 To waken sense in *ye*? Oh misery!
 Oh breathless lips, can ye not speak to me?”

Here *ye* occurs five times, and twice only is it in its proper place as the nominative of the verb: in each

of the others it is either governed by a preposition or a verb transitive, and therefore should have been *you*. To an ear accustomed to a right construction of language such a fault is not a little offensive, and the beauty of poetry is as much vitiated thereby as if, in the human visage, the eye and eyebrow should be continually changing their relative position, and sometimes the one, sometimes the other, should take the upper place.

Furthermore there groweth out of this disregard of the just declension of pronouns by some authors of good repute, a notion that they are in fact indeclinable, and that, therefore, the cases must always be expressed by circumlocutions. Thus many a pretender to fine writing would fancy he had done well by using the preposition *of*, in lieu of the genitive case, and will say, *of whom*, rather than, *whose*; although, according to the grammar and idiom of our tongue, the use of the genitive *whose* be far the more proper: for the one relative pronoun *who*, is thus declined,

	Mas.	Fem.	Neut.
Nom.	Who		Which
Gen.	Whose		Which
Dat. & Acc.	Whom		Which

and the idiom of the Teutonic family of languages doth require, for beauty and strength of expression, the use of the genitive case, wherever the hissing sound thereof doth not so far make it unpleasant to the ear as to require it to be avoided *euphoniæ gratiâ*.

Besides this confusion in the pronouns, another error doth very commonly find place in conversation and periodical publications, and sometimes also in writers of a better order; namely, the putting of an abverb where the true construction of the language

doth require a conjunction. The true place of the adverb, as the name doth in a measure import, is after the verb, i. e., *added* to it, while the conjunction goeth before it; yet we shall commonly hear the adverbs of time *directly*, and *immediately*, placed in the stead of the conjunctive phrase *as soon as*. If the adverb be ever allowed a place before the verb in good writing, it is then merely a companion of a preposition giving intensity and preciseness to it, as it doth also in some cases to a noun adjective, as "*directly after hearing*"—"immediately on hearing"—or with an adjective, as "*directly good*"—"immediately relative to"—but never should it be used in the fashion of—"directly he heard"—instead of "*as soon as he heard.*"

Then again we find all writers and teachers eschewing with especial care, the placing of a preposition at the end of a sentence; yet in the *Hoch Teutsch*, or German, which is the younger sister of English Saxon, it is a rule that under certain circumstances it shall be so placed; and in the racy, idiomatic language of our elder writers, it is frequently found to be so; though perhaps few discover why this style to our ears soundeth better and more forcible. *Inclined to*,—*hoped for*, and the like, are phrases of this nature, and as happily this old Saxon form retaineth its hold in the spoken, though it be losing it in the written language, we may peradventure hope that writers will at last find out that when addressing English ears, they should use the English tongue.

There is another fault heard frequently in common parlance, but not yet, as I think, written: videlicet, the use of the noun adjective *like* with a verb and its nominative; a position which it hath no claim to, in the room of the conjunction *as*. Thus we shall

hear school boys and young college men say "I did that *like* he did," instead of—" *as* he did"—an error, which, though it have not yet found its way into print, will do so ere long, unless this mode of speaking be corrected.

And so much may suffice for the errors in grammar of such as are by courtesy supposed well instructed on such points. But there is a further error in books especially devoted to the science, which is of yet greater import, as it not unfrequently may vitiate the sense of a translation, and thus deceive the unlearned reader. Every foreigner who would learn English, knoweth to his cost, that if in the just use of *shall*, and *will*, lieth one of the main beauties of the language, so also doth its greatest difficulty: yet it is for him both sad and strange that no one hath clearly set it forth in any work of grammar. In such works I do constantly find the future tense of verbs written *I shall or will*, as though their use were indifferent: a fault which leadeth to many mistakes, and much mockery of strangers, by those, who, from long habit, have gained the true use of these words. Neither is this without ill effect in the most important of all writings; for in more than one passage in Holy Writ a careless putting of one word for the other by the translators, doth strangely confound our understanding thereof. For according to common usage, which in a living and spoken tongue is the best rule of signification, the simple future tense runneth thus,

I shall	We shall	}	go
Thou wilt	Ye will		
He will	They will		

and if any one will change this arrangement, he will perceive that he sayeth not what he meaneth to express; as is well seen in the oft-repeated jest of the

Frenchman in the water, exclaiming "I *will* be drowned—nobody *shall* help me," wherein by confounding the different persons of the simple future tense, an extraordinary perversion of sense is occasioned. Let us but reverse the order thus

I will	We will	}	go
Thou shalt	Ye shall		
He shall	They shall		

and we shall find that in this form, which for distinction's sake I shall call the second future, it hath an imperative force not by any means belonging to the first. And though this distinction be wanting in those modern tongues which are derived from the Latin, which hath it not, yet we find it to exist in some measure in the Greek, which hath an imperative future; and in the Hebrew, which hath besides the simple active voice, and the future thereunto belonging, another voice which is causative; the future whereof partaketh of the nature of our second future, as above noted, and this voice the Rabbins are wont to call *Hiphil*. Now in that passage of the book of Genesis where the LORD GOD is said to speak to Adam and his wife after their transgression, the tense used is not in *Hiphil*, but in the simple active future, notwithstanding which the translators have rendered it by "thou *shalt*," whereby the notions of the unlearned are much confounded, and they do rather see therein a stern judge condemning, than a good father telling his children the necessary consequences of what they had done; they having been forewarned that, according to the nature given them, such consequences must ensue. A serious evil resulting from a seemingly small grammatical fault!

It might well nigh be thought from the commonness of this confusion in books professing to treat on

grammar, that the English nation was jealous of all others, and resolved, by keeping the key of their language in a labyrinth, to prevent any but themselves from attaining to the use thereof; a great reproach to the people, were it true: but scarcely a less reproach is it, that there should be so general an ignorance of grammar rules as to render the right speaking our language a matter of custom only, no one being able to give any good reason therefor.

OF CERTAIN ERRORS CURRENT IN REGARD TO DISEASE AND MEDICINE.

IN times past when a man fell sick, he was wont, if he were great enough to find that expense practicable, to send to some oracle for counsel; as Ahaziah, albeit he might have known better, seeing that he was of Israelitish blood, sent messengers unto Baal, the god of flies, at Ekron, to inquire concerning the disease he was suffering from: and if this habit infected even the people chosen to be the depositaries of the truth, we may well guess how prevalent it must have been among the heathen. To this succeeded the belief in particular shrines of Christian saints, and you shall even yet see, it may be, in some chapel of this kind in a remote place, where the ancient superstition surviveth merely under a change of name, as great a number of *ex voto* offerings of silver and waxen eyes, legs, arms, and the like, as ever covered the walls of the temple at Delphi. Now-a-days superstitions of this kind have taken a fresh course, and, notwithstanding that they no longer enrich the priests of *Æsculapius*, or of *Apollo*, or of *Isis*, they nevertheless set up for themselves some living idol, and he being supposed, like the *Pythoness* of old, to be inspired with a certain divine *afflatus*, they pay their offerings to him as religiously as ever did any ancient votary of the god or the saint, and trust to him with as implicit a faith: witness the tales I have heard of a certain Mr. St. John Long, who, in regard

to the excoriations he practised upon his votaries might haply be considered as an avatar of that Ekronitish god of flies, whose fame tempted even the King of Israel to apply to him: for with the aid of some French or German critic I doubt not it might be proved that Baal-zebub was none other than an emplastrum of cantharides.

But leaving that matter to those who are skilled in such etymologies, I will affirm that there is no medical practitioner of good sense and erudition, who doth not regret that any such oracular veneration should be bestowed on him, seeing that it is for the most part no less harmful to himself than it is to the patient, who ignorantly expecteth him to work miracles when he can only bring to his aid the patient attention of an experienced and carefully educated man. Yea, oftentimes, in order to satisfy the unreasoning patient, who, indeed, is usually most *impatient*, he hath to hold language which savoreth more of the charlatan than of the wise and cautious examiner of nature, and thus may lose credit in the eyes of the better instructed, while he is applying himself to the calming of an uneasy mind, which fevereth the body the more from the not well knowing what it hath to dread.

It is an ill finish to a thing in itself good, that the division and subdivision of labor which in later times have produced so much excellence in arts mechanical, have been carried also into learned professions and sciences, wherein such minute division is not profitable, but the contrary thereof. For each man applying himself with eagerness to his own particular calling, doth thereupon conclude that others do the like; and thus imagineth that he may trust them for all those parts of science which pertain more immediately to their especial vocation: and

thus he seeketh not to inform himself enough there-upon to be able to judge of the competence of him whose counsel he seeketh, be it physician or surgeon, lawyer or priest: albeit in his capacity of a human being living in society, he be personally and deeply interested in all the questions which these faculties do profess to treat of. Yet so little doth the applicant oftentimes know of his own affair, that he puzzleth his oracle. Thus a lawyer shall often be hard put to it, to gather from his client those points which chiefly bear upon his case; and the physician hath no less difficulty in detecting the symptoms which shall guide him to a true knowledge of the disease: the ignorance of the patient thus hebetizing, as it were, the art of the doctor, by concealing, or forgetting, it may be, as a matter of no signification, the more important though perhaps less troublesome symptom, and detailing at inconvenient length what might well be passed over. Thus many a man hath become permanently insane because a headache, or a little more than usual watchfulness, are held to be things scarcely worth attention; and no medical aid is called in, or any remedy attempted, till the brain is so seriously diseased as probably to make all remedies vain. No year passeth wherein there is not some instance of suicide committed by persons who had for a time complained of headache, and seemed depressed in spirits; but whose friends, considering this to be a matter of no concernment, had paid slight heed thereto; and only remembered it for their own advantage, as preventing a forfeiture of goods consequent on a verdict of *felo de se*, instead of noting it for that of the sufferer, by taking measures for reducing that diseased action in the brain, which was indeed the cause of the pain first, and next of the insane self-destruction which followed.

I do note therefore as an error of much evil consequence, the notion which some men have, that ignorance of everything relating to anatomy and medicine is safe and even desirable, so long as some medical practitioner, no matter what his skill, may be within reach.

I have seen this wilful ignorance carried yet farther, indeed to such a point that were it not so grave a matter, that a jest thereon would savor too much of levity, I could gather good matter for laughter thereout. For I remember once hearing it said by a lawyer of good ability, when speaking of a preacher whose church he frequented, "I have been told by persons who are judges of such things, that his sermons are very good. I cannot myself understand them, but that is not my business:" and yet this man was no scoffer, or despiser of sacred things; but he had seemingly considered the priest as a sort of commissary, paid and bound by his engagement, to supply food for the souls of a certain district, the which if he did not furnish, it may be that the man of law, judging of another world by that part of this which was his chief concernment, imagined that there would be a legal remedy in the High Court of Heaven; and haply, dreamed of an action for damages if, through negligence of the appointed teacher, he should be defrauded of his share of future happiness.

Now if it be folly so to leave another to cater for our life eternal, as if misery could be borne by proxy, and we should suffer no loss provided the blame of the loss could be thrown on another; I think we must accuse him of a folly only lesser in degree than this one, who should so entirely trust another in regard to his bodily health, as to risk the losing it whilst hoping to restore it: for the lack of skill, or the lack of attention in him who is thus trusted, can

neither be detected nor checked by a man wholly ignorant of his own frame and constitution, of the nature of the pharmaceutical preparations employed, of their probable effects, or of the benefit which the prescriber expecteth that he will derive therefrom. The mere mistake of a chemist's boy may thus put his life to hazard, for he knoweth not what he swalloweth: or if the practitioner be unskillful, no *mistake* may be needed to increase the risk. Neither doth some scientific acquaintance with these matters make a refractory or hypochondriacal patient, as some profess to apprehend; for quiet submission to our lot doth usually grow out of a rational knowledge of how far it may admit of amendment, how far it must be borne; and, on the other hand, there is no obstinacy like that of ignorance, and no phantasm so difficult to remove as that which cannot be reasoned with. For though the imagination, when preternaturally excited, may work wonders through the influence exercised by the brain over the muscular fibre, by means of the nerves thence proceeding, yet this is but a sorry kind of curative process; seeing that it is uncertain, and will oftener be turned against the practitioner, than, may be, it can second him.

There is no charlatan, how ridiculous soever may be his pretensions when tried by the light of sober reason, that doth not find his followers, even in this age of fancied enlightenment; and those who consult this lying oracle shall many times be found, on inquiry, to be persons of very sufficient acuteness and good sense in their own vocation: yet the clearness of their intellect availeth them not in this matter, which is even of more concernment to comfort than either riches or greatness. But there is one class more especially the prey of such pretenders,

videlicet, the female sex, who being, by the erroneous notions in regard to the fitting education for a woman, kept, for the most part, in profound ignorance of every useful part of knowledge, listen to and credit what is told them, because they have never been sufficiently indoctrinated to be able to detect a fallacy either in science or argument. And yet, who needeth so much to know something of anatomy and pharmacy as they, who by their natural constitution are less fortified than the other sex against the assaults of disease?

How much of the imprudence which incurreth sickness, and the waywardness which ill beareth it, would be prevented if men in their youth were taught to know so much of the human corporeal frame as to be able to measure their own powers, and neither over nor under task them! For he who demanded too much from his muscles or his brain, will strain, and damage them: but he who demandeth not enough, doth himself a yet more irreparable injury; for then they gain not their due development, and are unfit for use when the occasion calleth for their exertion. And indeed I must herein accuse those of mine own profession of some misapprehension; for you shall find the medical attendant oft-times deny his patient the use of books, or of writing or of such like amusement, as holding that this kind of occupation will fatigue, and thus retard the cure. Yet the same physician will desire that the sick person shall be taken out of bed for refreshment, and ease of body, so soon as the severity of disease is somewhat abated; nay that, if possible, he shall be removed to another chamber for the sake of a fresher air than that contaminated by his own fevered breath. Hath then the brain no function also which is to be attended to, in order to restore its healthy

influence over the other parts? Who amongst us hath not seen how much the discontents and griefs of the mind impair digestion, and interrupt the regular course of the circulation, with the due secretions therefrom resulting? And shall we imagine to restore the patient by refusing amusement, and keeping him constantly pining under the sickness of hope deferred, thinking of his sufferings because he hath nothing else to think of, and fevering himself with restless wishes for what he cannot have. Leave him his book—he will read till he is weary, and then he will sleep. Suffer him to write—if his arm or his head ache in consequence, he will soon lay aside his pen and seek repose to fit himself to resume it; and in meantime, if the symptoms be not very urgent, his sufferings will be forgotten, and the cheerfulness of health will return, and aid the cure, it may be, more than all the drugs thou canst administer.

When even a healthy man is put into solitary confinement, we have had good experience in sundry lamentable cases, that his bodily constitution sinketh under the unnatural state of mind thereby engendered. Wilt thou shut up one who is suffering already from sickness, and haply with no society save that of a stupid nurse, without any means of amusing his mind? Shall he have no employment but the counting the beats of his fevered pulse, or the stripes or the flowers in the paper or bed furniture, it may be; or figuring horrid faces from shadows,—or the fancying landscapes in the veins of the marble chimney piece,—or the gazing on some portrait, haply, till he fancieth the eyes move, and he almost shrieketh at the frightful creation of his own fantasy. Is this the way to promote convalescence? My worthy brother, thou art but half a master of the healing art if thou hast never learned

to bring the mind to aid in the body's cure. So mighty an agent existeth not in the whole round of natural causes; and thou mayest thank thy favorable stars if it be thy fate to find a patient who can and will mentally recreate himself during sickness; for he will live by the force of intellectual activity, where the weak and desponding would sink and die.

But, methinks, I hear it said, "I do not deny my patients fitting amusement—they may read a novel—they may delectate themselves with the visits of the Apothecary, who will listen to all their complaints, and besides giving a large share of pity, will delight them with abundance of talk touching the news of the day."—But this is not the *healthy* exercise of the mind; it is by forgetting ailments, not by talking about them, that the cure is promoted; nor is it to be supposed that the idle desultory gossip of the neighborhood, or the absorbing interest of a work of fiction, whose merit consists in the taking such hold of the imagination that it cannot be dismissed at will;—furnish that train of gently consecutive and satisfactory reflections, which may sooth into quiet sleep: for the brain, suffering somewhat of the debility of the rest of the body, beareth not sudden jerks and disruptions of thought, but delighteth in following one subject, or shifting into another by easy stages as it were. The delectations of the wise and good, therefore, during illness are very different from the above mentioned, and we shall find that their favorite recreations will be the truths of science and of religion, the book of God's works, and the book of God's laws. These bring us into immediate communion with the Deity, and as the fabled Antæus gained fresh strength from touching his mother earth, so doth man—the son of the Highest, gain

power from bringing his soul into contact with his Almighty Father. Earth and its concerns are so brief, so small, to him whose mind hath been thus employed, that even should the illness promise to be life-long, the thought bringeth no despondency. How can it do so to one who hath no mind to return to the paltry littleness of every-day life? Many a great mind hath matured in a sick room works which make it evident that the vigor of intellect—the light of heaven, it may be, beaming on the inward eye,—hath triumphed over the ills of the body. Oh leave the sick man his books; leave him his lofty thoughts; his hope that even in this seclusion he is not wholly useless; his strong will, his upward aspirations!

I remember some years ago visiting often an excellent man who had long been suffering severely, and whose age left small hope that he would ever recover health. He was wise enough to seek mental recreation,—good enough to seek such as gave him peace and hope, nor shall I easily forget the animation which lighted up his pale face as he talked of his favorite pursuit. He had undertaken a critical translation of the gospels, and his delight when he could throw any new light on an obscure passage was boundless. I asked him once how soon he should finish his work. “Never,” was his answer; “had I other pressing business to attend to, I might conclude this;—but now, what can I have so soothing as this blessed book always before my eyes?—The desire to make my rendering more perfect, gives a definite object and a zest to all my other reading, and I am amused without losing sight of what I love. A work of fiction may serve to divert an hour for a fellow that hath never had an ache in his shoulders, but to one who hath little to enjoy in life save the hope of quitting it, there is no book like this. All

others pall and weary, excepting as they connect themselves with the great end of man's being, and the foundation of his expectations. I sleep quietly when I finish the day in such guise." By thus giving, as he himself expressed it, a definite object to his excursive reading, it gained a sufficient interest to render the mind active: history, travels, philology, all bore in some way on his pursuit; and it was pleasant to see the joyful and triumphant air with which he would sometimes hold up to me a book he had just purchased, exclaiming "I shall find something here for my work." To the day of his death he never ceased to retouch his darling translation.

There is also another error which groweth out of, and is in a measure dependent on the notions which the learned in medicine have unwittingly encouraged. You shall hear it given as a symptom of one disease that it causeth great depression of spirits, of another that it is attended by peculiar irritability of temper; and so on through all the moods which suffering may be expected to produce in untaught or untrained minds; who, as a dog howleth when he is chained up, or snarleth and snappeth at any one who would administer relief to him when injured, yield to all animal emotions, and are sad or gay as the course of the bloody prompteth. But this, though alack! it be a common, is yet by no means a necessary consequence of disease, and though the physician may need to know this when he hath to deal with ill-regulated minds, he is wrong if he expect that this shall always be the case, and still more wrong if he assert it so to be. For thus shall he, perchance, on the one hand, mistake hugely the case of one who hath so little of the animal in him that he will not howl when he is hurt; and on the other encourage

in weak-minded persons the yielding to the impulses of peevishness and ill humour, as thinking them such natural consequences of disease as to admit of no restraint: and thus haply the health of the attendant friends shall be more damaged by the weariness of trying to soothe one who thinketh he hath license for his fretfulness, than his who thus weareth out those who would minister to his comfort. Selfishness is an ugly vice at all times; but sickness hath double horrors if the moral constitution be broken down as well as the bodily: for surely he must have more than ordinarily long legs who would think to step into the blessedness of heaven, from the querulous peevishness which hath made his sick room a hell.

OF THE CONDITION OF SOCIETY AS TOUCHING THE FEMALE SEX.

I SHOULD, I think, hardly satisfy my readers, I am sure I should not satisfy myself, were I to conclude this my discourse without farther inquiry into those false opinions which I have already taken occasion to notice in a more brief and cursory manner, with regard to the true position of women in society, as in this later age it is constituted. For herein it seemeth to me that many errors, bequeathed to us by our ancestors, do continue to bear fruit of more bitter consequence than any that was plucked in Paradise, and, as in that fault, albeit the woman may oftentimes be the agent in the evil, all do eat thereof to their great discomfort and detriment. Wherefore I propose, good reader, to note some of these errors, their causes, and, according to my poor apprehension, their remedy also: so that, be thou male or female, thou shalt peradventure find this inquiry not wholly useless to thy present instruction and future good.

The first step of such an inquiry must be set very far back, for as the first scene in the drama of human existence was laid in Eden, so we must take that for our starting point; since there, if ever, we shall find what is the true relation of the sexes in society. And if it be said that both forfeited their claim to that true relation when they quitted that sweet garden; be it remembered that in all the dealings of God with man since that time, the object of his dispensations has been the reinstatement of his erring children in the

same, yea even in a better state than that which their animal and sensual nature tempted them for a time to abandon: therefore we do properly fulfil his will, and advance his kingdom, by endeavoring to ascertain that true and pristine state, and, as far as in us lieth, to restore it.

Woman then in Paradise was the independent companion and helpmate of man: for where food was to be had for the plucking, she had no lack of other strength than she possessed to aid her in the procuring it; and where she had no enemies, she needed no protection. The aid therefore which she could lend, or receive, could only be that spiritual and intellectual assistance which human creatures are ever prone to seek from each other; since finite beings always hope to gain something more of the infinite by gathering to themselves the intellectual possessions of others as well as their own. And if, as I conceive, the somewhat more delicate organization, and larger proportionate brain of woman, doth give her, *cæteris paribus*, the advantage of quicker perception, and greater promptitude in mental operation, we may well opine that she was "a help meet for man" in all wherein he needed help, but answerable for her conduct to God alone, from whom she had received the good gift of reason, and freedom to use it. Would we then indeed return to our pristine happiness, and enjoy the comfort of that interchange of mental pleasures which was destined for man as a species, we should return also towards that pristine state of things. But how standeth the case now? Population presseth hard, in this long-settled country, on the means of subsistence, and woman hath daily more and more to learn the lesson that she is but the female of that species, the law of whose nature is labour: for the first fault having been that of the

animal part, God by his merciful decree (loving, even in reproof,) weakened its influence, by requiring from it enough of toil to keep it in subjection to the higher and better rule of the rational soul.

Such then being the natural state of the human race, food being made essential to life, and labor requisite to the procurance of food, is the position of woman in society such, either by law or custom, as to enable her to comply with that law which was given for such good purpose, and which no human customs or human decrees can supersede? Is she, by custom and law, allowed to labor for the means of support, or if she hath acquired it, to keep it? and if she be not, what good reason hath society to give for so glaring an injustice? A woman may marry, I shall be told, and then the husband will maintain her. He who answereth thus knoweth that he answereth not truly. Where subsistence is hard to be won, if the woman bringeth nothing to the common stock, marriage is often impracticable, unless for a fool that looketh not to the future; and many a woman *must* remain single for the lack of this world's goods: many more *would* remain single rather than sell their persons for food and raiment,—for a mercenary marriage is but a market transaction,—if they had any means of honorable labor whereby to eat bread, the sweeter for being that of independence.

Why then should we longer stave off the putting the question which sooner or later must be asked?—Women are found dying of inanition, unable to obtain the wherewith to still the pangs of hunger—why is this?—Why is suicide, why is crime the hopeless resort of her who in common parlance, though not in common usage, is held to be the cherished companion and “better half” of man?

This question hath never yet received a satisfactory answer, and haply some may be found to flout at mine, though indeed mockery be no refutation. I reply that woman's position in society is a false one: that healthy, not excessive labor being the law of our existence, she hath nevertheless been either debarred from using it to good purpose, or else doomed to endure it in crushing excess, by defective teaching, which hath obliged her to labor with her hands rather than her head;—by unnatural restraints;—by idle or ill maxims:—and when man striveth to overturn the law of God and nature, he is apt to make wild work of it; and, like the builders of Babel, to find that the fabric he hath sought to raise will remain to future generations but a ruinous monument of his own folly.

Let us not any longer disguise facts: from the moment that a female child is born into the world she is subjected to an unjust inequality by the laws of this realm: she cannot exercise or enjoy the rights of a free citizen, even if her lot have fallen in fair pasture, and her father having left her wherewith to live, she hath remained single and kept it. If she marry, her very individual existence is merged in that of her husband; the property that she hath in possession is taken from her, or placed peradventure in the hands of trustees, by whose negligence or fraud it is often wasted; and if she afterwards obtain anything by labor or inheritance, it is not her's, but her husband's: nay, she is no longer considered even as a rational and individual agent in the eyes of the law.

Nor is public opinion more just:—go into a school for poor children where the males are receiving such an education as may fit them for clerks and shopmen, bailiffs or gardeners: and if thou remark on the in-

complete instruction afforded to the female children, the reply will be—"The gentlemen say it is good enough for girls"—Go a step or two higher: ye shall find that the father keepeth his daughters ignorant of business; for why should they be taught what they will never have occasion to exercise? and if he sometimes think that after his death they may be destitute, he endeavoreth that they shall have two or three showy accomplishments, and even those insufficiently taught them, that they may take the situation of a governess; and thus the would-be-teachers soon come to be more numerous than the scholars that need them. Look higher yet: science and philosophy are held to be "unfeminine;" and those that call for a better system of teaching shall be mockingly asked, "Would ye make female professors?"

What then remaineth for a woman who must eat, and hath no one to give her bread?—She may toil with her needle.—What sort of maintenance this is, late inquiries have shown: she may work sixteen hours out of the twenty-four, or perhaps all the night as well as all the day, and when she hath ruined health and eyesight, find that she still hath not wherewith to live: or she may go out as a governess if she can obtain that office, even for no better remuneration than her board, or starve when she cannot: or she may enter upon a course of sin and shame if she be young and handsome; or commit suicide if this fail her. Is this the boon that fathers give their daughters?—Did the law give women the rights of free citizenship, parents would take care that their female, as well as their male children, should receive such an education as should enable them to administer their affairs;—or if fathers gave their daughters a better education, the law would probably view

women with more favor; but by thus arguing in a vicious circle, refusing women their rights because they are held unable to exercise them, and then denying them a useful education because they have no rights to exercise, we inflict unmerited sufferings on a large portion of our species, and render those idle and adulatory sayings which are addressed to women in the heyday of their youth and beauty, the cruelest of all mockeries.

Give the female the same chance as the male; let her mind be strengthened by study, and her body by exercise; let her see what the world is upon whose mercies she is to be cast; and if the care of the law have left her any one right in this so-named free country, let her learn to use it in order to obtain truer justice for her sex, that the next generation may not find crime, starvation, or suicide, the three alternatives offered for the acceptance of those whom the world prateth to of "woman's proper sphere,"—nor if strong moral feeling hath eschewed vice, and absolute, bitter, biting want hath unsettled the brain, be told that the wild endeavor to exchange the lingering pangs of hunger for a speedier death is a punishable offence:—a lunatic asylum, not a prison, is for the most part the proper place for such offenders.

When the fanaticism of a past age sent human beings to the stake, a few pounds of gunpowder to tie about the neck, was held a charitable gift, which kind hearts, more merciful than the laws, offered to the sufferer. Yea, our own holy martyrs, Ridley and Latimer, disdained not such aid: but when a woman is doomed, by this hard-hearted and false-judging age, to die by the lingering torture of want, magistrates and judges refuse the *coup de grâce*, and insist that the suffering shall be borne unabridged,

out of an assumed concern for the souls of those whose bodies have been left to perish.

Far be it from me to countenance that rash impatience of life which leadeth man to cut short the span which God hath assigned to him; but if, by harshness or neglect, we so embitter the existence of some wretched being, that in spite of the instinctive love of life, it is found a burden too heavy to be endured longer; who ought to bear the blame of the sin? The laws and customs which cause the evil, or the unhappy woman, whose brain reeling under the repeated shocks of suffering; or of remorse—if hunger have been staved off by sin; perpetrateth an act of violence on herself, whereof it is for God, not man, to take cognizance.

If indeed the numbers of the nation exceed its means of subsistence, let the evil be boldly met: the world is wide, and other lands can offer soil to till when England overfloweth: but let both sexes be placed in a situation to struggle fairly with the difficulty. It is mean, it is hypocritical, to disguise the secret wish to monopolize all profitable employment, under the show of a tender concern for the best interests of "the weaker sex." If we indeed feel that such rivals in the counting house, the mart, or the lecture-room, would endanger the subsistence of men, while enabling women to maintain themselves; let us at least boldly avow it, and devise a remedy openly. Throw open then the field of intellectual labor: let the female be taught to lighten the toil of the body by the work of the mind: teach her the skill of arithmetic;—what is there in the work of a book-keeper which she might not well and profitably discharge? open to her the wells of ancient literature and modern science, and when they are open, forbid her not to drink thereof herself, and to draw thence

enough to quench the thirst of others also. Ye will not have a female professor, forsooth; but do ye not sit and applaud night after night while actresses address crowded theatres? May a woman repeat the words of others in public, but not repeat her own? May she exhibit her person on the stage in such dances as are there performed, and not exhibit an experiment in chemistry? May she sing idle lays to hundreds, but not speak wisdom to them? And is this boasted care which public opinion taketh of female morals?

It might be matter for longer discourse than I have space for, were I closely to examine, and trace back to their causes in every instance, the evils here noted; but a few of these causes it may be well to state briefly. And foremost among these standeth the inferiority of the woman in regard to physical strength; the which, when many tribes of the great human family (from some of which tribes we of this realm are descended) became rude and barbarous, and warred often for their hunting-grounds, or found it more to their taste to seize the goods of others, than to labor for themselves,—did make females in great measure dependent on the stronger sex for support: and dependence among rude nations hath many of the characters of slavery. During the season of semibarbarism which succeeded to this, after England had become a settled kingdom under the Teuton races, the code whereon our common as well as much of our statute law is founded, was established; and hereon was grafted, not long after the Norman feudality; whereby warlike suit and service became the main title to property, and the king's legislative council consisted of such only as held fiefs: for in those days the church also was militant, in the worst sense of the word, and the bishop had his vassals,

and parceled out his land in knights' fees. At the period when William of Warenne could cast his sword upon the table when called upon to prove the title to his estate, and that wise and strong-handed monarch, Edward, the first of that name, found himself obliged to submit to this glave law, it is clear that the female sex had very small chance of obtaining any regard to their rights as human beings: for the rude warrior of that day recognized no right in any who had not a sword wherewith to maintain it. The wife of a baron was a part of his estate, his daughter a part of his property: learning he had none of himself, and he needed none in his companion.

The churchman, the only man in those days who had any skill in letters, was doomed to a life of celibacy by the asceticism which had corrupted the simplicity of Christianity: therefore he sought for no "help meet for him" in his studies; and knew nothing of any females but either such as were shut away from all liberal science within the walls of a convent, or such as ministered only to his baser animal needs: and this ascetic rule, which held that a saint was disgraced by the very society which his mild Master sought and loved, added the finishing stroke to woman's degradation. The warrior despised the feeble hand that could not wield the lance, but he also sometimes pitied and cherished the weak woman who clung to him for protection: it was reserved for a corrupted religious faith to take from her even her self-respect; to banish her foot from the holiest spots; to esteem her touch defilement!—yea, woman, whose courage had braved the terrors of Jewish prejudice straining law to destroy the innocent, and, despite of priests and rulers, followed to the cross HIM whom all but his gentle woman-like

disciple John had forsaken or forsworn,—was held an unclean creature by those who professed to be His servants. There is a tale told of a certain Quaker who, having been bitten by a dog, apostrophized him thus—"I will not kill thee, but I will give thee a bad name"—and he raised the cry of "*bad dog*," which being soon mistaken for "*mad*," the poor beast was hunted till he became mad in good earnest: and thus woman, when an ill name had been given her at first, however undeservedly, became subject to treatment which oftentimes caused her at last to deserve it.

A different age hath now arisen; but it is so much the instinct of man to do again what he hath been accustomed to do and to see done, that old habits and opinions still make a stout fight for the upper hand, and yield only inch by inch to the pressure of the times. But nevertheless they do *yield*, and it is therefore at this time especially, that such an inquiry as I have endeavored to institute is likely to be useful. The world hath been so constituted by its Creator, that in all the relations of life man must still find woman by his side; and by that companionship he must be influenced for the better or the worse; how much all might be benefited were that influence always for the better, I will not here undertake to conjecture, but this I do know, that where a man findeth in a wife, or a daughter, or a sister, the real "help meet for him," he enjoyeth a reduplication of his mental and even bodily powers; and by her loving labor and sweet companionship findeth his toils and cares so lightened of their weight, that he would almost wish to have them for the sake of finding them so dextrously and gently shared and soothed. In this, therefore, as in all other things, the doer of injustice findeth, like him who swingeth

a flail unskillfully, that it returneth on his own head with the more force, the greater the strength he hath exerted ; and man, by his injustice to woman, hath lost much of that solace and help which was designed for him by his Creator. And it might be matter for curious remark on the constitution of human nature, that the injustice is now done rather as a matter of habit than for any good reason : for no one in this age will maintain that either man or woman is disqualified for parts of trust or honor by the lack of physical strength, or warlike skill ; neither in this reformed church will any man hold himself defiled by the society of womankind. Nay, in matters of science and literature, if a woman have courage enough to brave the flouting of fools, and the opposition of relations, and gain erudition in spite of the outcry raised against woman's learning,—when she hath at last achieved fame, her labors will also give her consideration in society. But it is a false and a bad social state when what is *right* to do, is not also *honorable* to do. When God hath given intellect, and an immortal soul to be guided and prepared for its better state by the use thereof, we sin against our Creator if we set human prejudice higher than God's law. "In Christ there is neither male nor female, bond nor free."

But herein, nevertheless, prejudice holdeth its own, maugre God's will ; for law and custom having debarred females from profitable employment, a father looketh only to the fitting his daughters for the market, seeing he can no otherwise rid himself of the charge of their maintenance than by shifting the onus from his own shoulders to those of a husband : and for this cause he holdeth that a form which may captivate some roving fancy in the dance, is of more value than those qualities which may make the possessor useful, and consequently happy :

therefore female children are right early taught that the care of the *outside* is of more consequence than that of the *in*: and that if the surface of the cranium be daintily ornamented, it matters not what may be the state of the brain beneath it. If such teaching bear its natural fruit, what is the wonder? One who hath for fifteen years been taught that the catching of a husband is the great business of life, and who hath to set before her eyes what is to please man rather than God,—when she hath succeeded in her chase, affordeth small comfort to the prisoner she hath taken; who may be ruined by her extravagance, deprived of his peace by her ill-humor, or disgraced by her misconduct.

I have stated these matters roundly and roughly, for doth not the chirurgeon need to use rough and sharp remedies when a gangrene is spreading in the body? and this, the gangrene of the body social, requireth something of the like treatment: for what hath been the custom for any long time, hath a kind of prescriptive right in men's minds; and ye shall often find it a hard matter to prevail on men to see that they have no rational ground for their practice, so much is it become hallowed by age.

Reader, I now bid thee farewell!—If thou be a father, lay to thine inmost heart the dread truth that God will require at thy hands the immortal souls which he hath bestowed on thee, for their nurture in the way of life; and remember that the making thy sons fierce and quarrelsome, by way of being “manly,” and thy daughters idle and useless, under the notion that they will thereby become more “feminine,” is not the part of a man who hath a denizen of the world of spirits entrusted to his training for good or for evil. If thou be a woman, forget not,—albeit my lesson may sound harsh to flattered ears,—

that thou wert not sent into this world to waste thy hours in indolent repose ; that every human being hath his allotted work, and that since God hath not seen fit to tell any one beforehand what that work will be, he must prepare himself by anxious culture in all directions, to execute it well when the task is assigned. Though bred to the expectation of riches, the hour may come when thou wilt find thy learning thy only dower : but whether that hour come or not, one far more certain will yet arrive ; that, namely, wherein we must give an account of every wasted minute and idle word :—look to it, then, that **TIME** shall pay good interest in **ETERNITY**.

AN INTRODUCTION

TO

VEGETABLE PHYSIOLOGY.

SMALL BOOKS ON GREAT SUBJECTS.

EDITED BY A

FEW WELL-WISHERS TO KNOWLEDGE.

No. IX.

AN INTRODUCTION

TO

VEGETABLE PHYSIOLOGY,

WITH REFERENCES TO THE WORKS

OF

DE CANDOLLE, LINDLEY, ETC.



PHILADELPHIA:
LEA AND BLANCHARD.
1846.

PHILADELPHIA :
T. K. AND P. G. COLLINS,
PRINTERS.

INTRODUCTION.

IF a person whose life, from infancy to manhood, had been passed in some volcanic island, where scarcely a lichen covered the rock, should be suddenly removed into a region of luxuriant vegetation, his wonder and admiration could not fail to be excited by the scene around him. The return of spring would indeed appear to him as an "annual miracle," and he would probably inquire earnestly into the causes by which the vernal leaves and flowers were produced. Habit has so familiarized us with these beautiful objects, that many of us forget to bestow a thought upon them; and we eat our bread, wear our linen, or sail the ocean in our majestic vessels, without a recollection of the growth of the corn, the flax, or the oak. In this, as in many other matters, King Solomon has set us a wiser example. Monarch, statesman, and philosopher as he was, he nevertheless found leisure to make himself acquainted with "every plant," "from the cedar of Lebanon to the hyssop on the wall;" and "a greater than Solomon" vindicated the claim of this exquisite part of the creation to be studied and admired, when he declared that the Monarch of Israel, "in all his glory," was not arrayed like one of the lilies of the field; while at the same time he instructed us how to draw from the study its most consoling and important inference, that "if God so clothe the grass," his fostering love will assuredly be bestowed in full measure on us, his rational creatures.

There is one point of view from which the ac-

quaintance with any of the works of creation assumes its highest moral aspect, God is Truth ; the one only source from which no error ever flows ; and whenever we have arrived at the undoubted knowledge of any *facts* in nature, we have made a fresh approach to truth, and to the "Fountain of Truth." Let the subject of inquiry be what it may, this assertion will be found to hold good. What God has not disdained to *make*, we may surely think it time well bestowed to examine, and coming to that examination in a right spirit, we may indeed find "tongues in trees," and even in what man, in his insolence, has called the meanest weeds.

In one of the former "Small Books," some insight has been afforded into the wonderful chemistry perpetually going on in the vegetable as well as in the animal department of the great laboratory of nature. It is the object of the present little treatise to give a general idea of the structure, nourishment, and reproduction of the plants themselves,—of Vegetable Physiology in short;—and although the compass of this work is too small to admit of much technical detail, it is hoped that enough information may be conveyed to increase the interest with which its readers will henceforth view the vegetable world around them, and to excite a wish, in those who may have leisure, to pursue the subject at some future day.

The following Treatise makes no pretension to originality, being a compilation chiefly from the works of M. de Candolle, Alphonse de Candolle,—sometimes almost literally translated,—Professor Lindley, &c., carefully put together with a view to afford an enlarged idea of the general nature of the subject, and to justify the assertion of the first named physiologist, that from the apparently humble func-

tions of vegetable life, we may raise our thoughts to the contemplation of the universal order that exists in the natural world.*

Let us now return to our imaginary personage, who has inhabited a volcanic island destitute of vegetation, and has been supplied with food for both man and beast from elsewhere. He has seen rocks, and locomotive, sentient beings, and nothing else. He quits his island, and lo! the earth is covered with grass, and trees, and flowers, and fruit, whose use soon becomes apparent from the myriads of living creatures which find their food there,—but *what* is this new appearance? Is it the rock shooting up into crystals under the influence of the sun and rain, as salt crystalizes from sea water? But the rock, when broken, retains its characteristic forms and substance unchanged: our islander pulls a herb, or cuts a branch, he finds moisture exuding from it, like blood from the flesh of an animal; and the uprooted, or cut portion withers and decays. It has, then, in common with the animal, some interior mechanism for the transmission of fluids, and some principle by which this mechanism is regulated: for though not one particle of the severed portion be injured by the cutting off from the tree, it can exist no longer than while it forms part of an individual; and the mechanism which nourished it is useless when removed from the influence of that individual principle: this principle is something distinct from mere tubes and fibres, and its operation appears closely to resemble what is called *life* in animals. Our inquirer therefore will soon resolve that the vegetable

* To the recent works of Dr. Carpenter on Animal and Vegetable Physiology, and to Professor Henslowe's "Principles of Descriptive and Physiological Botany," the writer thankfully acknowledges much obligation.

is more nearly allied to the animal than to the rock, and he will ask himself again, what is the difference between the rooted animal and the rooted vegetable? Is not the vegetable, the lowest grade of living beings, akin to the coral and other such tribes of animal plants? He will find an organism, resembling in many cases the lower kind of animals, vessels transmitting moisture upwards, and carrying it downwards,—while others are charged with the supply of air: and the fibres and cellular tissue are formed from the circulating liquid, as the muscle from the blood. The substance of the vegetable, when examined chemically, affords fibrine and albumen, the components of blood: its ultimate elements are mainly the same as those of animals, i. e., oxygen, carbon, hydrogen, and nitrogen, the residue of ashes alone affording a small portion of other elements, chiefly alkalies. Is there any real difference between the non-locomotive animal and the non-locomotive plant?

For a long time the answer to this question was in the negative, and the world heard of the links of the chain all through nature, the vegetable, the animal, and the intellectual kingdoms blending like prismatic colors, so intimately, that it was impossible to mark the boundary. But our inquirer, with the aid of modern research, will not allow himself to be influenced by theories, however plausible; he will expect to have the means of proof ere he acquiesces in any scientific view, and he will soon perceive one marked difference between the plant and the animal; for the root of the former is furnished with organs for the reception and assimilation of nourishment, while that of the latter is a simple means of attachment to one spot; and the nourishment, instead of being derived from the rock on which it is fixed,

floats to the mouth or mouths of the rooted zoophyte, and is of a totally different nature. The plant feasts on unorganized matter, imbibed in a *fluid* state by the roots and leaves, and never collected into any common receptacle; the animal requires organized matter in a *solid* state, which is received by a mouth into a stomach, where it is reduced to a semifluid mass; and not till then does the process of assimilation begin. The distinction is broad and clear, and our inquirer will now go on to admire the beautiful mechanism by which the rock, disintegrated by the action of the air, and dissolved by the rain, passes into the vessels of the plant, and there becomes organized, so as to fit it for the stomach of the animal, where it undergoes still farther changes; and finally, produces an organ fitted for the use of a higher order of beings; for it cannot now be doubted that the brain, which is the finest product of animal organization, never is fully called into action till it becomes part of an individual of a yet higher grade. The potass, &c., of the volcanic rock is in great measure inert till it passes into the absorbent vessels of the plant, and the plant is of no use in creation farther than it supplies the nourishment for sentient organism, and the use of the sentient organism, finally, is only demonstrated when a fresh agent is introduced, and the intellectual Will crowns the fair work of Creation.

To an observer such as is above described, that link of the chain which connects man with the rock will have a deeper interest than the mere examination of any mechanism, however curious, could inspire: for the announcement that man is formed from the dust of the earth has a deep truth in it which modern science alone can fully appreciate. It is from this dust, that, after the various chemical com-

binations effected in the cells and vessels of plants and the inferior animals, man derives his corporeal frame, and is, in fact, as far as that portion of his nature is concerned, part and parcel of the earth he moves on; the first step, therefore, in this extraordinary metamorphosis well deserves a careful examination.

VEGETABLE PHYSIOLOGY.

CHAPTER I.

STRUCTURE AND PROPERTIES OF VEGETABLE TISSUE.

1. **VEGETABLE structure**—"chemically composed of oxygen, hydrogen, and carbon, to which nitrogen is always superadded,"*—consists, in common with that of all organized beings, of

1. The matter which forms the actual substance of the plant itself.

2. One or more liquids, either contained in, or secreted by, its organs.

3. Other substances, more or less solid, deposited during the passage of those liquids through the different portions of the body.

The researches of modern investigators, aided by the improved powers of the microscope, have shown that the solid structure of plants consists of, *Cellular Tissue*, *Vessels*, *Fibres*, and *Skin*.

2. *Cellular Tissue* (*contextus cellulosus*), is a membranous tissue, very similar, in arrangement and form, to a honeycomb, being composed of detached *cells*, as its name denotes, which are closed, and adhere more or less nearly together; it is found universally in all plants; and many of the lower tribes, such as lichens, mosses, &c., are entirely formed of it. It surrounds the vascular parts so that

* Lindley's Elements of Botany, p. 1.

in the vegetable as in the animal conformation, no vessel is ever exposed and bare. The diameter of the cells, or *vesicles*, which is perhaps their more correct appellation, varies considerably, from the thirtieth to the three-thousandth of an inch; their shape also is much diversified, but the normal form appears to be round, and it is probable, indeed almost certain, that the variety depends on the pressure of one part of the plant on another during its growth. The vesicles seem to originate from a point, called by modern writers a *cytoblast*,* which sometimes continues visible after they have reached maturity. The property of uniting firmly together, possessed by the cells which compose this tissue, forms a very important part of the history of vegetation, for it is to these adhesions in the cellular tissue, that all the *seams* in the various organs of a plant are owing. The term *parenchyma* is applied to the cellular tissue, considered as a mass, to distinguish it from those parts which abound in vessels. Cellular tissue "is self-productive, one cell not only having the power of generating another on its surface," but cells frequently produce others,—generally in a definite number,—within their own cavities, on the complete development of which, the parent cell generally perishes or is re-absorbed.

3. *Vessels, or Vascular Tissue.* This term is applied to tubes, nearly or quite cylindrical, which are observed in the greater number of plants. They are now usually distinguished as *Spiral Vessels* and *Ducts*.

A. *Spiral Vessels*, or Trachææ, resemble a ribbon which has been rolled round a cylinder, and

* Probably from κῆτος a cavity or hollow point, βλαστος a branch or sprout.

which by its spiral convolutions forms a continuous tube. These vessels are very apparent in the young shoots of plants, particularly those which can be readily broken without tearing, such as the rose, &c. They are formed in the medullary sheath (27) in the nervures of leaves, &c.; but are usually wanting in wood and bark, and are never seen in any of the lower tribes of plants. Their diameter varies from the three-hundredth to the three-thousandth of an inch.

B. *Ducts* are transparent tubes, the sides of which are marked with rings, bars, or transverse streaks. They differ essentially from Tracheæ by being inelastic, and incapable of unrolling. They are found in the wood of phænogamous plants, and of Ferns and Lycopodiæ.

4. "The office of all the ducts is the same—that of conveying fluid. It is only in the true spiral vessel that we find air."* And even here at certain

* Carpenter's Elem. Veg. Phys., p. 66.

"The functions 'of the *Ducts*' have not been accurately determined. It is probable that they act as spiral vessels when young; but it is certain that they become filled with fluid as soon as their spires are separated." (Lindley's Elements of Botany, p. 6.)

"There are some large *Ducts* which appear to have originated from cells, which have been placed together end to end, and whose partitions have been so broken down as to form one continuous tube. These are the largest vessels (if they may be truly so considered) in the whole vegetable fabric, and are of the class called '*dotted ducts*':—through them the sap principally rises." See Dr. Carpenter's Vegetable Physiology—§ 84, et seq.—The line of demarkation between the form of the true spiral vessel, and some of the ducts, is sometimes difficult to find; in some vessels there are obscure traces of spiral form, interrupted in places, and covered by membrane.—"In Ferns (which have no true spiral vessels), we find *Ducts*, which very closely approach the spiral vessel in character, having an unbroken coil of spiral fibre throughout their whole extent; but besides the important difference that these ducts are long, continuous tubes, they are

periods of the existence of a plant, fluid has also been found by recent observers; though if a branch be cut asunder whilst in a *soft* state, no juice is ever seen to issue from the orifice of a spiral vessel; and though, as the lymph is found to ascend in the stalks of mosses, &c., which do not possess these vessels, we may probably conclude that they are not *requisite* to the transmission of fluid, though occasionally so employed.

The *Laticiferous Tissue* consists of very delicate and anastomosing tubes, principally occurring in the young bark, and on the under sides of young leaves. They convey the fluid called *Latex*, or *proper juice*; which constitutes the nourishment of the young organs, and in which a curious oscillation of globules is visible in the bright sunshine, with a powerful microscope.*

5. *Fibres and Layers*. When a branch of a vascular plant is cut transversely, a certain number of points are observed, which are of a more compact character than the rest of the structure. If the branch be divided lengthwise, we shall perceive that these points are the ends of so many longitudinal threads, which will separate from the rest of the tissue more readily than they will themselves break. These threads are called *fibres*. With a microscope we can see that each fibre is composed of bundles of vessels, bound up and intermixed with cellular tissue. If we macerate the branch in water, after some time the fibres separate of themselves, as in the case of hemp, flax, &c. This separation in reality disorganizes the vegetable struc-

further distinguished by the brittleness of the spire, which snaps when we attempt to unroll it." *Ibid.*, § 82.

* For a further account of this and other local circulations, see Appendix A.

ture; the water first dissolves the softer parts, i. e., the *true* cellular tissue, and so releases the fibres which it held together, and if the process be continued, the disorganization proceeds still farther, and a homogeneous pulp alone remains, as is seen in the manufacture of paper, where the fibres which had formed the thread are artificially torn and reduced to a pulp, in which, however, a good microscope will still show us the remains of a fibrous structure. This description of the structure of fibres explains why they are more difficult to break across than to rend asunder lengthwise; this is what workmen call *following the grain of the wood*. These fibres constitute what is termed *Woody Tissue*, or *Pleurenchyma*. It is also found in the young bark, and in the nervures of leaves, "and gives strength to the vegetable fabric."* When many fibres are

* "A peculiar form of woody fibre is found in the stems of resinous woods, especially the Pine and Fir tribe. The diameter of its tubes is much greater than that of any other woody tissue it is by a peculiar set of dots, seen along their course, that these woody tubes may be readily distinguished from all others Whatever be their character, they are of great interest as tending to establish the true nature of coal.

"That this substance had a vegetable origin has long been generally admitted; but from the comparative frequency and perfection with which the remains of Ferns occur in it, it has been supposed to have been produced by the decay of vast forests of this tribe of plants. As Ferns do not form resins, however, this hypothesis would not account for the large quantity of bituminous matter which coal contains; and hence it was supposed that coal must have been formed from resinous woods, even though the remains of such were very scanty and imperfect. Now on applying the microscope to transparent sections of such fragments of coal as most distinctly exhibit the fibrous structure, it is seen that they present the character which has been described as peculiar to the resinous woods—the glandular form of woody fibre, as it has been technically termed, and hence it is established beyond doubt that the immense masses of coal which now contribute so much in every way to the comfort and

distributed circularly round an axis, whether real or imaginary, the whole together is called a *Layer*. It is thus that the annual rings of Dicotyledonous trees are formed.

6. *Skin*, called also *Cuticle*, or *Epidermis*. The whole surface of the plant, wherever it is exposed to the air, with the single exception of the stigma, is covered by this membrane, which may generally be separated from the rest of the tissue, and is seen under the microscope to be formed of a range of flattened cells, *distinct* from those of the Parenchyma.

7. *Stomata*, or *Pores*, are exceedingly minute oval-shaped orifices, capable of expansion and contraction, which are easily visible with the assistance of the microscope on the cuticle of the herbaceous surfaces of plants. They exist more or less in all the leafy surfaces of vascular plants, but are wanting in all roots, in old stems, in fleshy fruits, and in all the organs of cellular vegetables,—with the exception of certain mosses, in which recent observers have detected them,—and are rarely found in seeds. These stomata are distributed at nearly equal distances; their principal use appears to be that of effecting the aqueous transpiration, a view of their office which is strongly confirmed by the facts that they are very abundant in those plants with membranous leaves which transpire freely, and wanting in those which transpire little; and that they are closed during darkness, when no transpiration takes place, and open in sunshine, when it is most copious. It is probable that, in addition to these visible stomata,

social improvement of the human race, are but the remains of vast forests, probably the growth of many successive centuries, which chiefly, if not entirely, consisted of trees of the Pine and Fir kind." (Carpenter's Veget. Physiology, pp. 65, 66.)

the superficies of plants may be studded with other pores, too small to be detected by the highest powers of the microscope, and whose existence is only suspected in consequence of physiological phenomena—for instance, if a portion of a plant, known to be devoid of visible stomata, is exposed to the air, it gradually loses weight; and consequently the liquid it contained must have found some exit.

8. *Spongioles* are certain exterior portions of vegetable tissue, which, without offering under the microscope any appearance of a peculiar organization, have a very strong disposition to imbibe moisture, and seem to act like small and very absorbent sponges. The *radical spongioles* are situated on the fibrous extremities of the roots, and it is by these extremities, only that the absorption of juices by the roots takes place.* Senebier placed two roots in such a manner that in the one the extremity alone touched the water, while the whole surface of the other root was covered by it, except the point, which was out of the fluid: the former took up water in the ordinary manner, the other imbibed no sensible quantity. The root fibre and its spongiole may be well observed in the common duckweed, in which it hangs from the under surface of every leaf. Spongioles are found on the stigmas and on the seeds of plants.

* Dr. Carpenter, in his *Vegetable Physiology*, (§ 106), mentions a strong instance of the practical value of an acquaintance with the nature and structure of the spongioles, in the removal of some vines from Shropshire into Norfolk, which was effected without the smallest injury to the plants by first digging a trench round them at such a distance as included all their roots, and then removing the earth “not with spades and trowels, but with the fingers; every fibril being thus uncovered without injury.” The vines bore an abundant crop in the following season.

9. The name of *Lenticular glands* has been given to a peculiar kind of *spots* observed on the bark of trees. These spots are in the first instance oval lengthwise, then round, and afterwards transversely elongated. They present a remarkable and very smooth surface, as if the cuticle were dried up: they often become swollen, and end by splitting asunder. Below the cuticle is a substance, sometimes green, sometimes white, which appears to be composed of detached cells, in the form of egg-shaped bladders. It is from these organs that such roots are put forth, as shoot from branches, whether spontaneously, or when plunged in earth; they may with truth be called *root buds*. They differ from the ordinary buds which produce leaves or flowers, both by their form and position: they absorb nothing from without, as the spongioles do, nor do they appear at all to serve the purpose of evaporation, like the stomata.

10. *Glands*, in the animal economy, signify those organs which have the power of elaborating some peculiar fluid from the nutritive juices of the body. The word preserves the same meaning when applied to vegetable anatomy.

11. *Hairs (pili, villi)*.—Vegetable hairs are prolongations of one or many cells, which by their length rise above the surface: they are principally *glandular* and *lymphatic*; the former being the supporters of separate little glands, and the channels by which the fluid secreted by a gland passes off. It is worthy of remark, that in all glands furnished with excretory hairs, the juice secreted is of an acrid nature, and is only directed towards the exit prepared for it, when the gland, pressed on by some exterior force, suffers the fluid to escape; the juice then flows through the excretory canal, which by its pointed

extremity punctures the skin of the animal which has incautiously touched the plant, and deposits its fluid beneath it. This defensive organization closely resembles the structure of the venom bag and tooth of serpents, and is well illustrated in the common nettle. *Lymphatic* hairs are much more abundant than the preceding; they are of various forms, and are only found on those parts of plants which are exposed to the air. Their office is probably that of preventing evaporation in certain portions of the plant, and of protecting the more delicate organs against cold, moisture, insects, &c.; and in support of this view of their use, it will be found that the tender bud is often defended by these hairs, which, when the shoot approaches to maturity, either drop off entirely, or become thin and widely scattered.

12. *Air cavities*.—The cellular tissue is often distended in such a manner as to form cavities filled with air. They are sometimes composed of large cells regularly arranged, in which case they are essential to the species, as in water-plants; in other instances they are merely occasioned by the distension of the cellular tissue.

13. *Articulations* and *Dehiscences*.—At certain parts of a plant, the cells or vessels instead of being, as usual, dovetailed together, so as to afford the greatest strength, are all arranged in one plane, and consequently easily disunited; at these points, called *articulations*, all parts of plants which naturally fall off, as the leaves of deciduous trees for example, separate; where these articulations do not exist, the parts may perish, dry up, and be destroyed by degrees, but are never detached entire. The surface left exposed by the fall of the organ which was attached to the plant by such an articulation, is called a *cicatrice* or *scar*. *Dehiscence* consists in a deter-

minate and regular rupture, such as takes place when fruits, arrived at maturity, burst open (the beech-mast, for instance); the lines which mark the direction these separations will take are often rather prominent, and may be observed before the ripening of the part—the term *suture* has been applied to them.

14. Two grand classes are obvious on considering the foregoing organography, viz., *Cellular* and *Vascular* plants. The first being wholly composed of cellular tissue, the last of both cellular tissue and vessels. Vascular plants may again be divided into two principal kinds—those whose vessels and cells extend longitudinally, and whose growth takes place towards the centre of the stem; which from this circumstance have been termed *Endogenous*:* and, secondly, those which have vessels or bundles of elongated cells, taking either a longitudinal or transverse direction, and in which the growth is always towards the *circumference* of the stem—these are called *Exogenous*.†

15. Having shown what the general structure of plants is composed of, without reference to those particular organs on which their growth, nourishment, and reproduction depend, it may here be desirable to give some idea of the properties inherent in vegetable tissue, before the organs, which are modifications of that tissue, and of course partake of its properties, are more especially noticed.

Organized beings are, like all other bodies, subject to the laws of physical and chemical action; we must therefore inquire, in the first place, concerning every fact of their existence; whether it is merely a consequence of those laws, or whether that conse-

* From *ενδω*, *within*, and *γινωμαι*, *to produce*.

† From *εξω*, *without*, and *γινωμαι*.

quence be modified by the structure and condition of their organization. The first case will come under the class of simple chemical or physical facts; the other will range itself among those which are denominated *properties of tissue*; that is, properties which are not indeed strictly *vital*, but which arise from the peculiar structure of living bodies. Other facts, which we cannot include under either of the above heads, are the direct consequences of that mysterious state called *life*. The distinction of these three classes is the basis of all true physiology.

16. Vegetable tissue possesses three properties which deserve attention, viz., *Extensibility*; *Elasticity*; and the power of imbibing moisture.

17. *Extensibility*. All organic tissues have in a greater or less degree the power of extending themselves even in the act of growth. This property is greater in proportion as the tissue has received fewer solid deposits, diminishes as it becomes older, and at a certain period ceases altogether. If we watch the development of a branch, we shall find that its cuticle stretches during a considerable period, after which it breaks, and is replaced by an epidermis: the same thing occurs in all cases in which we can follow the growth of any organ; and if plants appear to increase indefinitely, it is because fresh organs are perpetually added to the former ones, and the older parts fall sooner or later into that inert state in which they are no longer capable of extension.

18. *Elasticity* of vegetable tissue is that property by which each membrane is enabled to resume its proper position when deranged by any external force. It implies a certain degree of rigidity, and is consequently less sensible when the tissue, having received but few deposits, is still in a semi-fluid state,

than when it is of older growth. This property is worthy of remark, because it occasions certain movements, which might be mistaken for vital action. It is very variable in intensity. Every one must have observed that a branch, if bent out of its natural course, returns to it of itself; but in certain cases this is not so—the *dracocephalum-moldavicum* has pedicels which may be turned from their natural direction, and will remain in that which has been forced on them. The plant, on account of this deviation from the ordinary law of elasticity, has been called *cataleptic*. The elastic movements of plants are sometimes determined by an arrangement of the organs, which, once deranged, although spontaneously, have nevertheless no power to return to their original state: thus the four stamens of the *parietaria* tribes have their filaments turned inwards before flowering; but as this process advances, and the filaments enlarge, a moment arrives when they no longer adhere together, but burst open with considerable force: this is facilitated by the tubercles which are formed in the inside of the filament; the anthers, shaken by this sudden movement, scatter their pollen, the filaments die, and the phenomenon can never be repeated. All these effects are consequent on the manner in which the parts are arranged, which indeed is *connected* with the life of the plant, but must not be confounded with those movements which are really dependent on vital action.

19. The power of imbibing moisture exists in both organic and inorganic substances; thus *deliquescent salts*, as they are called, are so eminently hygrometric, that their own particles are in the end dissolved in the water they have imbibed. The effect cannot be carried to this extent in organized bodies, being limited by their nature; thus hair, whalebone, &c.,

though capable of being employed to indicate the state of comparative dryness or dampness of the air, from their power of attracting moisture to a certain extent, are nevertheless, under ordinary circumstances, insoluble in water. It is the same with several vegetable productions, which can, consequently, be similarly employed. Vegetable tissue is in general more hygrometric in proportion as it is less loaded with extraneous substances: the woody fibre is, in this respect, very different from the bark; this latter being scarcely hygrometric, while the woody fibre imbibes moisture with great facility. This absorption of water occasions an enlargement of the woody portion, which thus presses itself, as it were, against the bark, and it is in consequence of this pressure, that the gums contained in and under the bark of certain trees are forced outwards, as in the cherry, plum, &c. Senebier has greatly exaggerated the effects of this power in attempting to account by its agency for the ascent of the sap, and for some of the most important phenomena of vegetation. The fact, that the sap ascends in plants which live in water, and that it does not rise in dead plants, might alone prove his theory to be erroneous.

20. "Connected with the hygroscopicity of vegetable membrane, we may here mention a property* of all membrane, which has probably a considerable influence in the economy both of animal and vegetable life. When a membrane is viewed under the highest powers of the microscope, it appears to possess a perfectly homogeneous texture, without pores of any kind; and yet water, milk, and other fluids, placed under certain circumstances, are capable of passing through it with considerable facility. The

* This property is called *Endosmosis*.

conditions required for producing this effect are these:—Any two fluids which exert a mutual affinity towards each other, being placed on opposite sides of a membrane, their immediate intermixture will commence, each of them passing through the substance of the membrane. If, for instance, a little treacle be enclosed in a piece of bladder, and this immersed in water, a portion of the treacle will soon be found to have exuded, while a still larger quantity of water will have penetrated into the bladder; and this action will continue until the fluids have acquired the same density. The remarkable circumstance attending this phenomenon is the fact of the lighter fluid having penetrated the membrane with greater velocity than the denser fluid.” (*Henslow’s Principles of Botany*, p. 159-60.)

21. Vegetable existence has been supposed to possess three *vital* properties, so termed from their analogy with the powers similarly named in the animal economy; viz., 1. *Excitability*. 2, *Irritability*, and 3. *Sensibility*: by the first is understood that peculiar state of the vegetable tissue, which enables it to resist decomposition by water much more energetically while living than after death, and which also renders it capable of supporting the action of air and heat during life, in a manner totally different from that in which their agency affects it afterwards. Many phenomena common to all plants concur to prove that this difference is inexplicable without the admission of vital excitability; such are the rapid mounting of the sap in the living plant, compared with the slow absorption of water in the lifeless tissue; the influence of light on the ascent of the sap, &c.

22. The quality to which the term *Irritability* has been applied by some physiologists, is that by

which certain portions of some plants respond to the agency of external objects, in a manner somewhat similar to the sudden contraction of the muscles in the animal body : for example, when the base of the stamen of the *Berberis* is pricked with a needle, it is seen to depress itself towards the pistil. If the hairs of the *Drosera* are irritated, they press themselves close to the leaf ; and one instance, especially, must be familiar to most persons, viz., the closing of the leaves of the *Mimosa pudica*, or sensitive-plant, on the slightest touch. It has, however, been conjectured that *all* this class of facts may be referred to vital excitability alone ; and with respect to the third quality, which some persons have attributed to plants, *sensibility*, or more properly *sensation*, until much more positive proof of it shall be adduced than has yet been offered, it can only be classed with those phenomena which are referable to excitability. The same argument, from analogy, which leads us to suppose that the lower orders of animals are far less sensitive than the higher, is against the idea that plants, wholly unprovided as they are with any apparatus of nerves, can be susceptible of those impressions, whether of pain or pleasure, which in the animal economy we have every reason to refer to a particular portion of the nervous system :—nor can we see in the general order of things any sufficient cause to lead us to an opposite conclusion. Although it may be a poetical and an agreeable idea to imagine the whole vegetable world welcoming and rejoicing in the return of spring, and basking in the warm beams that are so congenial to our own nature and necessities, yet the satisfaction this notion might afford would be far more than counterbalanced by the reflection that we could not pluck a rose or gather a peach without inflicting pain ; and that the pruning-

knife was an instrument of torture. One strong reason to conclude against the sensibility of plants, arises from the great contrast between the provision made for them and for animals during the winter. It is known that animals liable to exposure to cold are well defended against it by their fur or down; while trees, stripped bare at the season when all sentient beings look for shelter, would indeed undergo a heavy penalty if they could *feel* the chill blasts that howl around them.

23. It was formerly supposed that vital excitability was seated exclusively in the vessels, but M. de Candolle's reasoning is conclusive against this theory, as he shows that the power is possessed by plants wholly formed of cellular tissue; that is to say, they offer the same facts from which the existence of vital excitability in vascular plants has been deduced. The immediate cause of these phenomena appears to be that the cells and vessels of the tissue are endowed with a contractile power, analogous to that of the heart in animals, or rather, perhaps, to the contraction and dilatation observed in certain microscopic infusoria: there are cases in which this action (though ordinarily confined to parts so minute as to escape observation), becomes visible: for instance, if a branch of the *Euphorbia*, or any other milky plant, be cut across, the milky juice exudes from both surfaces. If it flowed by an impulse given either from below or from above, it would only appear on one half of the severed plant; if it issued forth by its own weight by the law of gravity, it could only flow when turned downwards, and if the lower half were held upright, the fluid would stand as in a cup; but it exudes let the branch be held in whatever direction it may, and it must therefore be owing to some contractile power within.

The agents which occasion or modify vegetable excitability, are light, heat, and perhaps electricity; and in addition to these, accidental causes of excitement, such as blows, the action of certain chemical substances, &c., will in some cases produce the phenomena by which it is manifested.

CHAPTER II.

NUTRITION.

24. THE general structure and properties of Vegetable tissue having been explained, it becomes desirable briefly to describe the organs by which plants are nourished, and enabled to perform the functions of growth and secretion, as the physiology of this part of the subject, which is, in fact, nothing more than the active agency of those organs, cannot be well understood without some distinct idea of their form and nature.

The organs which are indispensable to the nutrition of all vascular plants, are three, i. e., the *Root*, the *Stem*, or *Trunk*, and the *Leaves*. In cellular plants these are often so united that the parts are scarcely distinguishable. It will be desirable to consider them in detail as they are found in vascular plants, in which they are generally well defined.

25. The *Root* (*radix*). This term is commonly applied to that part of a plant which is beneath the earth; but this is not an exact definition, as there are roots which exist out of the soil altogether;* it may

* Such are the curious *braces*, as they may be called, sent out

be more correctly described as that portion which vegetates downwards. The point of junction between the stem and the root bears the name of the *neck*, or *crown*:—from this point they proceed in opposite directions, so that the part the nearest to this is, in both organs, the oldest, and in general, the thickest. The office of the root is double; it both serves to fix the plant in the soil, and to imbibe its requisite nourishment. Roots are never green excepting at their extremity, where it has been shown (8) that they perform their function of absorbing water through their spongioles. As soon as a plant begins to exist, a principal, or *tap* root, may always be perceived, growing in an opposite direction to the stem: it is very remarkable in the seed, and is there called the *radicle*; this principal root, after having sent out branches in all directions, often perishes, and the ramifications frequently take a horizontal course. Besides affording nourishment by direct absorption from the soil, the roots are often store-houses of nutritive matter. Such are those of the *Dahlia*, which abound in starch, the *orchis*, &c. &c.; such roots are generally much swelled or thickened. In their anatomical structure roots principally differ from stems by the absence of stomata, and, in the *Exogenes*, by the want of a central pith or medulla (27).

26. The *Stem* (*caulis*). This organ is never really wanting in vascular plants, though in some it is hidden beneath the earth. “The stem is pro-

by the *Pandanus* or Screw Pine—this stem is smaller at the bottom than it is above, and as this form is of course unfavorable to the steadiness of the plant in the ground, it sends out roots at various distances up the stem which find their way into the earth, and thus act as buttresses for its support. Such is also the well-known method by which the *Banyan*, from a single tree becomes a grove.

duced by the successive development of leaf buds (35), which lengthen in opposite directions." The stems of Exogenous plants possess the most complicated organization, but as they are much better understood than those of the Endogenous and Cellular tribes, and as the Exogenes comprise all the trees of our own part of the globe, they are more interesting to us.

Four distinct parts are observed in Exogenous trees—the *Pith*, or *Medulla*, in the centre; the *Wood* surrounding the pith; the *Bark* which envelops the whole, and the *Medullary Rays*, which run horizontally across the wood and bark, from the centre to the circumference. To these may be added the *Medullary Sheath*, which is but the first annual layer of wood.

27. The *Pith*, or *Medulla*, is composed of cellular tissue, whose cells are large, regular, and spongy; it contains starch which is afterwards converted into mucilage,* and its office seems to be that of nourishing the young buds; when this function is performed, it perishes. Around it is the *Medullary Sheath* which differs from the succeeding annual layers only in having its vessels usually capable of being unrolled, and consequently truly spiral; it envelops the pith like a case, and its fibres often branch into the substance of the pith itself, where they appear as scattered spiral vessels. The medullary sheath has been supposed to be the channel by which oxygen, liberated by the decomposition of carbonic acid, is conveyed to the leaves.

28. The *Wood* immediately surrounds the central pith, and is formed of concentric layers of vessels,

* See "Introduction to Practical Organic Chemistry," p. 49, § 36.

or ducts, and of fibre, annually deposited *outside* each other. It consists of two parts, namely :

1. The central layers which are harder, more colored, and evidently older than those near the circumference : these form what workmen call the *heart of the wood*, and naturalists *true wood*, or *lignum*.

2. The external layers, which being incompletely formed, are softer, whiter, and younger than the former, and constitute what is called the *Alburnum*.

In some trees, especially in those which are not very hard, the line of demarkation between the true wood and the alburnum is not very perceptible ; in the hard woods it is well marked both by texture and color, as in ebony, in which the wood is jet black and the alburnum white.

Every layer both of the wood and alburnum, if we except the medullary portion, is composed of vessels and fibres intermixed with elongated cellular tissue. The sole organic difference between the wood and the alburnum, is, that in the former, the interior of the cells and perhaps of the vessels, is *encrusted*, while in the latter it is empty or only filled with juices scarcely solidified. M. Dutrochet has proved that the different degrees of hardness between divers woods, and between the wood and the alburnum, is owing to the nature of the juice contained in their tissue, and not to the tissue itself, which is identical in both. The tissue of the box and the poplar, though these woods differ so much in density, become perfectly similar when the matter they contain has been dissolved out by nitric acid. The spaces which after maceration appear to exist between the woody layers, are not really such ; but were filled with cellular tissue, analogous, for each annual layer, to the

central pith of the first year's growth. Each woody layer, being, in the Exogenous trees of cold or temperate climates, the produce of one year, the number of concentric zones in a transverse cutting of a stem will show the number of years during which that part of the tree has existed. To know the entire age of the tree itself, it must be cut exactly at the crown, since of course the higher portions of the stem were not in being when the deposits on the lower were formed. An inscription graven on the trunk of a tree, and penetrating to the alburnum becomes covered by new woody layers, and may be discovered unaltered: thus Reisel found in 1675, some capital letters in the centre of a beech tree.* The nourishment of the tree being entirely performed by the young or sap wood (the alburnum) is carried on when age and decay have deprived it of its heart wood. Thus we see the hollow trunk of an oak or willow capable of sustaining large branches, and putting forth foliage almost as luxuriant as when in its prime.

29. The *cortical* system (or Bark) of Exogenes is organized in a manner analogous to that of the central, or ligneous system—every stem acquiring a cortical, as well as a ligneous zone annually; but while each fresh *woody* layer is deposited on, and externally to, that of the year before, each layer of the *bark* is produced on the *inner* side of that pre-

* There is a singular illustration of the manner in which the older portions of a stem are completely enveloped in the later deposits of woody matter, to be seen in a part of the stem of the Wellington Tree, presented to the British Museum by Mr. Children. A chain had been passed round the trunk when it was a sapling, and was so entirely buried in the layers of succeeding years, that it was only by the violent resistance the chain made to the tools of the workmen who were sawing the tree, that its existence was discovered.

viously formed. The younger and more flexible portion is called the *Liber*, and is deposited on the alburnum of the wood; the older layers are pushed outwards, and are the *cortical* layers, or true bark: they represent in the bark, what the *heart wood* is in the central portion, but with this great difference, that the woody layers being deposited beyond each other in the order of their formation, remain perfectly entire; while the layers of bark, acquiring fresh zones from within, undergo considerable distension—thus, although the number of cortical layers equals those of the woods, their fate is very different; those of the bark distended by the growth of the tree after the first year, always present more or less flexuous fibres, and this tendency augments with age, while on the contrary the fibres of the wood continue straight and rigid. The woody layers remain in the state of alburnum till they have acquired their proper hardness,—the layers of bark on the contrary, soon lose their freshness, and never attain the same degree of solidity. The first, placed beyond the reach of atmospheric influence, preserve the appearance of life; the latter, exposed to the action of the air and light, soon dry up and split. This* difference in the mode of growth accounts for the different results of such experiments in this part of the tree, as were before mentioned as having been tried in the wood—if an inscription be made on the bark only, the letters without lengthening, gradually become thicker, larger, further apart, and are at last effaced. The secretions of a plant are often deposited in the bark.

30. The *Medullary Rays*, formed of compressed

* It will be therefore observed that, strictly speaking, it is the woody portion only of Exogenes to which the term applies, as the bark follows the laws of the Endogenous tribes.

parallelograms of cellular tissue, connect the centre and circumference of the trunk: they strengthen the tissue, and convey secreted nutritive matter in a horizontal direction. They are distinctly perceptible in a section of a woody stem. Sometimes they can be traced from the central pith to the extreme circumference, but ordinarily the line is interrupted.

31. Stems vary extremely in appearance in different plants—sometimes they run under the ground, and are improperly called *creeping roots*; occasionally they lie prostrate, and send roots into the earth underneath them;—the term *rhizoma* is then applied to them;—and sometimes they are much swollen, and called a *tuber*;—or if they (or rather their leaf buds) (35) thicken below the ground, a *corm*. All these forms of stem have been called *roots*; but there are two marked distinctions between these and true roots. They have what are termed *nodes*, which are the points at which the leaf buds are formed, as well as *leaf buds*, which are never found on roots properly so called. Scales being the rudiments of leaves, no proper root can be scaly.

32. The stems of *Endogenous* plants, considered generally, have these common characters.

1. They are composed of one single homogeneous mass.

2. They have no true medullary channel nor distinct medullary rays.

3. Their older fibres are on the circumference, and the newer deposits in the centre, from which latter circumstance they take their name.

They are less marked in character, and present less regularity of structure than the *Exogenes*. Thus one species, the Palm, will afford a sufficient idea of the whole class. This stem is generally upright, strong, simple, regularly cylindrical, and crowned at

its summit with a bunch of leaves; transversely divided, it appears to be composed of scattered fibres, mixed with cellular tissue, which unites them together. At a glance it is obvious that the fibres of the circumference are more close, of a firmer consistence, and older than the inner ones, which are distant, soft, and surrounded by a loose cellular tissue. Each fibre consists of a bundle of tracheæ, and rayed and dotted vessels. The difference in consistence between the circumference and the centre of the trunk is always perceptible, sometimes very remarkable; for instance, there are some palms whose exterior is so hard that a hatchet can make no impression on it, while the inside is a loose spongy tissue, quickly decaying in a humid air. The *circumference* of the palms corresponds to the *wood* of our trees, while the centre is a species of *alburnum*. It is from this central alburnum that the leaves and flowers spring, or in a word, it is from the centre that the development of all the parts takes place. Immediately on the appearance of the plant a first row of leaves is put forth, attached to the crown by a layer of fibres—the next year a second row is produced within the former, and distends them—it is the same with the succeeding seasons, till the period when the outer layer, having acquired by age the hardness of perfect wood, and no longer admitting of further distension, is incapable of any increase of diameter.

33. *A Leaf* has two distinct parts—the *Petiole*, or *stalk*, and the *Lamina*, called also the *blade* or *limb*; the former consists of fibres proceeding from the stem, and enclosed in a cellular integument; the latter is formed by the ramifications of the fibres of the petiole, and the expansion of its cellular tissue. In exogenous plants the veins branch in various directions, so as to form a kind of network; in the

endogenes they run parallel to each other, and are simply connected by transverse veins. When the petiole becomes lengthened so as to curl up, it is called a tendril, and many curious forms, such as that of the Pitcher Plant, are but expansions of this portion of the leaf. The limb of a leaf presents three distinct parts; the superior and inferior surfaces, and the *mesophyllum*, or substance contained between the nervures. Both the surfaces are ordinarily furnished with stomata, the under side much more abundantly than the upper; but in leaves which rest by their under surface on the water, this relation is reversed, their upper surface (that which is exposed to the air) being alone furnished with stomata. In like manner, leaves which are constantly *immersed* have no stomata. The nervures of the superior surface are supposed to be the channels by which the juices are conveyed *from* the stem to the limb; those of the lower surface conduct them back to the *bark*. If we attempt to twist a leaf so that the naturally superior surface shall be undermost, it endeavours to regain its original situation; and if the force used, prevent it from doing so, the leaf quickly perishes.

34. *Stipules*. This name has been given to small leafy organs, whose only essential character is their lateral position at the base of the leaf. They are occasionally changed into true leaves, and one of them is sometimes wanting; they vary exceedingly in appearance.

35. *Leaf Buds* are those vital points, surrounded by scales, which are usually found in the axils of the leaves, and from whose growth a branch is formed.*

* " Leaf buds are always formed from the *cellular* portion of the stem or branches, on which the function of extending the growth of the individual seems especially imposed. They may be distinctly traced, in young branches, to the pith; and where

The scales, as the vegetation proceeds, are replaced by leaves. When leaf buds are found under ground, and become swollen and large, like the crocus, &c., they are called *bulbs* or *corms* (31). In both cases young bulbs are produced in the axils of the scales, and feed on the old bulb. Some of the latter tribe raise themselves out of the earth by a very curious process. "In some *Gladioli*," says Professor Lindley, "an old corm produces the new one always at its point; the latter is then seated on the remains of its parent, and being in like manner devoured by its own offspring, becomes the base of the third generation." Leaf buds are divided into regular and adventitious, the former being always found in the axil of the leaves, none of which, in fact, are ever really without them, though in some cases they are undeveloped; so that the arrangement of the branches of a plant would always be the same as that of its leaves, were it not that the buds are very unequally matured: and this regularity is found to exist in reality through every part of a plant, although from the obliteration of some portions, and the non-development of others, it cannot always be traced throughout. "It has been distinctly proved, that while roots are prolongations of the vertical or woody system, leaf buds universally originate in the horizontal or cellular system."

36. The nutritive organs of cellular plants are far less defined than those of the vascular tribes, and it even appears as if the whole mass of the former were composed of one homogeneous substance, capable of taking diverse forms, and fulfilling different functions, without being separated into distinct or-

this has dried up, they may be seen to arise from the medullary rays." (Carpenter's Veg. Phys., p. 197.)

gans. They are *analogous* in many cases to those of vascular plants, but never consist of vessels. They vary so much in the different species of the cellular tribes, such as the Mosses, Hepaticæ, Lichens, &c., that it would be impossible to describe them here without entering into details far exceeding the limits of this work.

37. On considering the phenomena of vegetable nutrition, one fundamental principle meets us at the outset; viz., that no aliment ever penetrates the plant, unless water serve it for a vehicle. Without water there is no vegetation. The first thing then to inquire is how it enters into the system. The habitual and vital absorption of water is performed by the spongioles of the roots (8), although under certain conditions, such as rain, heavy dew, artificial watering, &c., the surfaces of the leaves have also the power of imbibing it. Plants being utterly without locomotion, and unable to seek their own food, it follows that their nourishment must be so abundant in nature as to be almost universally within reach, and so easy of absorption as to offer no resistance to their comparatively feeble powers of action. These necessary conditions are beautifully fulfilled by the spongioles and by the nature of water. The spongioles make no selection of healthy material for the nourishment of the plant; and the absorption of fluid through their medium appears to be regulated merely by the readiness with which certain solid substances held in solution can be received along with the water. Thus the action of the spongioles separates a portion of the water from a solution of gum arabic, leaving the gum behind in the remaining solution, in an increased state of saturation; but sulphate of copper in solution—one of the substances most injurious to vegetation—is rapidly absorbed. Dr. Car-

penter, however, mentions an exception to this, in the power which some plants exert of taking up certain mineral substances which seem peculiarly requisite for them. He says, "if a grain of wheat and a pea be grown in the same soil, the former will obtain for itself all the *silex*, or flinty matter, which the water can dissolve; and it is the deposition of this in the stem which gives to all the grasses so much firmness. On the other hand, the pea will reject this, and will take up whatever *calcareous* substances (or those formed of lime and its compounds), the water of the soil contains, these being rejected by the wheat." (*Carpenter's Veg. Physiol.*, p. 89.) On this subject Professor Daubeny has made many curious experiments.

38. Plants, then, absorb water by their roots; but is it pure water only they require? Modern chemistry has decided this question in the negative. Water in its absolute purity, such as we obtain it by distillation, does not exist in nature: if exposed to the influence of the atmosphere it holds some of it in solution; if it is in contact with the soil it will imbibe saline, or organic particles, and thus the water which reaches plants is always more or less charged with other substances.

39. When water, accompanied by the soluble matter it contains, has entered the spongioles, it becomes a part of the juices of the living plant, is propelled forward with great force, and receives the name of *sap*. This sap rises in the plant, and probably in its course furnishes the air with which the vessels are filled. The rapidity with which the sap rises has been proved by several curious experiments. Hales introduced the root of a vigorous pear tree into a glass tube hermetically sealed at the top, with a lute quite impervious itself to air; this tube was filled

with water, and placed in a cup of mercury ; in six minutes the mercury had risen eight inches in the tube, to replace the water that had been absorbed. From other experiments on the *force* with which the sap rises, Hale drew the conclusion that it is five times greater than that with which the blood is thrown into the crural artery of a horse. "If a piece of bladder be tied over the surface of a vine stump when the sap is rapidly rising, it soon becomes tightly distended, and will ultimately burst. These effects manifestly bespeak an action very different from the ordinary results of capillarity, and indicate the pressure of a powerful force, a "*vis à tergo*," residing in the lowest extremities of the roots, by which the propulsion of the sap is regulated. Although these results so closely resemble those of endosmosis (20), there still exists a difficulty in connecting the two phenomena; for whilst we may admit the possibility of an interchange between the contents of the vesicles composing the spongioles, and the water in the soil which surrounds them, by the ordinary operation of endosmosis, it is difficult to explain how the sap may be propelled forward so violently as it appears to be, in the open channels through the centre of the stem, which contain crude sap of nearly the same specific gravity as water itself. It would be further necessary to account for the manner in which a continued supply of fresh material is obtained for carrying on the endosmosis, which must otherwise soon cease when the fluid within has become much diluted. We shall find, however, that a constant supply of fresh material is actually provided by the direct action of the vital force, during a subsequent period, in the function of nutrition ; and hence it is not impossible, though it has not been proved, that both the propulsion as well

as the absorption of the sap may principally, if not entirely, be owing to the operation of mechanical causes, dependent, however, for their lengthened continuance upon the existence of the vital energy by which those conditions are perpetually renewed, and without which the endosmosis would of necessity soon cease." (*Henslow's Principles of Botany*, pp. 181-2.)

40. It would seem natural here to observe what course the sap takes in its rise in the plant, but the question of the channels through which it is propelled is by no means one to which an indisputable answer can be given. "The great difficulty," says Professor Henslow, "in determining the precise channel through which the progression of the sap takes place, must be ascribed to the perfect transparency of the vegetable membrane, and the extreme minuteness of these organs themselves. By placing a branch in colored fluids, such as a decoction of Brazil wood or cochineal, they are absorbed and the course of the sap through its whole passage into the leaf may be regularly traced; but on examining microscopically the stains which have been left, it is scarcely possible to feel satisfied whether they are on the outer or inner surface of the vessels and cells which they have discolored. Since there are many plants which possess no vascular structure, in them at least we must allow the cellular tissue to be the true channel through which the sap is conveyed. The probability seems to be, that the crude sap rises, at least in woody stems, through the intercellular passages, where it bathes the surface of the cells and vessels, all of which are so many distinct organs destined to act upon it." (*Henslow's Principles of Botany*, p. 179.) Many excellent observers, however, deny the general system of intercellu-

lar passages, or of consequence the passing of the sap by these means; the question must therefore be considered as undecided.

41. Heat and light exercise great influence on the ascent of the sap. A plant exposed to the light takes up a sensibly larger quantity of water than one kept in darkness. The leaves exhaling moisture in great abundance (to the amount of about two-thirds of the water taken up), and consequently requiring and receiving a proportionate supply, tend largely to promote the direct ascent of the sap, and a terminal bunch, such as is always left by mulberry growers when the leaves are picked, determines the rise of the sap to the top of the tree, whereas if the summit be left bare, the juices will scarcely be active enough to reach it, and in addition to this vertical action, the cellular envelop which surrounds the branches, and which communicates with all the woody and cortical layers by the medullary rays, draws the sap, by the action of the living cellules, in a transverse direction. In Endogenous plants, in which there are no medullary prolongations, the sap is necessarily drawn to the summit by the leaves, and it is only in youth that the cellular envelop of the branches can receive a small quantity of moisture: as soon as the action becomes hardened, further lateral growth is impossible. The powerful action of the leaves, &c., as here described, in determining the ascent of the sap, is a much more probable account of that phenomenon than any propulsive *vis à tergo* like that supposed in the extract from Professor Henslow in paragraph 39, to be resident in the lowest extremities of the roots.

42. It is well known that fresh plants exposed to the air part with a considerable portion of their moisture. This exhalation is not performed equally all

over the plant, but is in exact proportion to the quantity of stomata on any given part, and it is curious that this fact was established by the experiments of Guillard, Saint-Martin, Bonnet, and Senebier, before the existence of stomata was known. Light has great influence in increasing the transpiration of plants. This exhalation may sometimes be observed in the form of drops of water resting on the leaves, &c., when circumstances preclude the possibility of their arising from rain or dew. "The manner in which the stomata act is unknown; and consequently we are compelled to ascribe the function which they perform to the immediate operation of the vital force." (Henslow.)

43. The influence of the atmosphere on the nourishment of plants, or in other words, their respiration, is the most complicated and perhaps the most important of all the processes of vegetable economy. Animal respiration, which is in effect, that process by which the blood is exposed to the action of the air, may show us by analogy how necessary it must be to consider the relations of the nutritious juices of this class also of organized beings with atmospheric action in order to comprehend their physiology. Thirty years after Bonnet (then occupied in researches on the uses of the foliage of plants), had first observed that air was given out by living *green* leaves, Priestley's attention was turned to the subject; and he submitted the air thus obtained to analysis: it proved to be either pure oxygen, or to contain that gas in a much larger proportion than atmospheric air does: other chemists confirmed the details of Priestley's experiments. The phenomenon is evidently connected with the *life* of the plant, since leaves, though still green but no longer living, give out no gas at all until the commencement of decom-

position. The direct rays of the sun are necessary to the effect: no other light, however strong, will suffice. The course of the phenomena connected with the respiration of plants appears to be the following. The water which enters the plant by the roots contains carbonic acid, which is carried with it into the green parts; it is there decomposed under the influence of the sun's rays—the carbon is fixed in the plant, and the oxygen escapes. The carbonic acid which is formed from the oxygen of the air, in all those portions of the plant which are *not green*, is partly dispersed in the atmosphere, partly dissolved in water, which water at last reaches the plant again, and thus is ultimately absorbed by the roots, drawn up to the leafy parts and there decomposed. The water taken up by the roots holds, besides its carbonic acid, a certain quantity of soluble matter containing carbon: this carbon is also carried with the sap into the green parts; it combines during the night with the oxygen which had been previously absorbed by them, and the following day such of this carbonic acid thus formed in the leaves as has not been given out during the night, is decomposed by the solar light, as if the carbon could not be usefully deposited in the nutritive juices unless it proceed from the decomposition of carbonic acid gas. Thus the whole of this important function, i. e., vegetable respiration, appears to have for its object the fixing carbon in the plant, while the result of animal respiration is to diminish its quantity in the body, or, in other words, to supply animal heat by its combustion.* It is well remarked by Mr. Hunt, that "the animal kingdom is constantly producing carbonic acid, water in the state of vapor, nitrogen, and, in combina-

* See Introduction to Practical Organic Chemistry, p. 61.

tion with hydrogen, ammonia. The vegetable kingdom continually consumes ammonia, nitrogen, water, and carbonic acid. The one is constantly pouring into the air what the other is as constantly drawing from it, and thus is the equilibrium of the elements maintained.

“Plants may be regarded as compounds of carbon, vapor, oxygen, hydrogen, and nitrogen gases, consolidated by the all-powerful, all-pervading influences of the solar ray; and all these elements are the produce of the living animal, the conditions of whose existence are also greatly under the influence of those beams, which are poured in unceasing flow from the centre of our system. Can anything more completely display a system of the loftiest design and most perfect order than these phenomena?”*

44. It has been shown that the watery juices, pumped up as it were, by the roots, have been drawn to the leafy parts; a large part of the water is there evaporated, green matter is formed, and the decomposition of carbonic acid, ammonia, and water, fixes carbon, nitrogen, and hydrogen in the residuum. From these changes, to which the term *assimilation* has been given, results the formation of a new and *descending* juice whose existence is perhaps less palpable than that of the *ascending* sap, but concerning which there can be no doubt. If a circular incision be made in the bark of an exogenous tree, a tumor will in a short time appear above the wound; this tumor increases, and if the cut be very narrow, it soon reaches the lower lip of the wound, the communication is restored, and the tree lives on as usual, but if the wound be too wide to admit of this junction, the tumor continues to increase till the branch

* Researches on Light, p. 200.

(or the tree, if the main trunk have been operated on) perishes in a longer or shorter time according to circumstances. If the *ascending* current were impeded, it is obvious the accumulation which causes the tumor, must take place on, or below the lower lip of the incision. This descending sap, or proper juice,—whose chemical composition appears to be water and carbon,—and which itself principally in the form of gum, is capable of being, by very slight modifications, transformed into fecula (starch), sugar, and lignine, quits the leaves during the night, and traversing the bark and pith in exogenous, and the wood in endogenous plants, reaches the roots. In its progress it deposits nutritious matter, which, more or less mixed in the woody portions with the ascending sap, or absorbed with the water which is taken up through the medullary rays by the cellular envelop, is imbibed by and elaborated in the cells. It meets in its course and especially in the bark, glands and glandular cells, which imbibe it and form in their cavities peculiar secretions (51), most of them incapable of nourishing the plant, and destined to be rejected or carried into the substance of the tissue.

The water which rises from the roots to the foliage is almost as pure when it reaches it, as at its entrance into the plant, if its course has been rapid through the older wood,* where the particles are slightly soluble; that on the contrary which has traversed those younger portions in which there is much cellular tissue filled with nutritive particles, slackens its course, mixes with and dissolves them,

* It has been proved by coloring the water with cochineal, that the ascent of the sap certainly takes place through the *ligneous system*, though the particular channels may be doubtful.

and arrives at the higher parts of the plant loaded with nourishment. The cells appear to be the true organs of nutrition, in which the decomposition and assimilation of the juices take place. In each cell ligneous matter is deposited which coats its walls, and the inequalities of this deposit in many cases appear to have given rise to the idea that the cells were perforated—the thinner portions being so transparent, that under the microscope they have the appearance of pores. It is evident from the above detail that there is no circulation in plants strictly similar to that of animals, but that there is an alternate ascent and descent of the sap.

45. It will be gathered from the account of the course of vegetable nutrition just given that the oxygen, hydrogen, carbon, and nitrogen, of which plants are chemically composed (1), are thus derived. The oxygen is abundantly furnished by the decomposition of carbonic acid, by the surrounding atmosphere, and by the water taken up into the system. The carbon, which constitutes so large a part of the texture of plants that it retains the form and character of the species when the other portions have been separated from it, and it alone remains as charcoal,* is also mainly derived from the decomposition of carbonic acid. The hydrogen is partly obtained from the water the plant takes up by its roots and leaves, and also from the same source as the nitrogen, which although so abundant in our atmosphere as to constitute four-fifths of its whole composition, does not appear to be thence imbibed in its simple form by plants, but to be supplied to

* A remarkable instance of this may be noticed in the triangular pith of the alder used in the manufacture of gunpowder.

them combined with hydrogen in the form of ammonia, the great ingredient in those animal manures so important in agriculture. "It appears," says Dr. Carpenter, "from recent inquiries, that the *organized tissues* of plants, that is, their cells, fibres, vessels, &c., freed from their contents, are composed of a substance which everywhere possesses the same composition; and that this consists of 24 carbon, 20 hydrogen, and 10 oxygen, without any nitrogen;" . . . "on the other hand the substances into whose composition nitrogen enters, though very generally diffused through the tissues of the plant, do not seem to undergo organization, but to form part of the *contents* of the cells, vessels, &c., of which these tissues are composed. It is curious to remark that precisely the reverse is the case with animals; *their* tissues being composed of a substance containing nitrogen, and substances which are destitute of it being never found in their bodies in an organized state, but only existing there in the cavities of their cells, tubes," &c. (*Veg. Physiology*, p. 117, § 163.)

46. It is obvious from the nature of the nourishment which plants require, that the condition of the soil in which they are grown is a matter of great importance. This subject has already been noticed in the "*Introduction to Organic Chemistry*," which forms the fourth number of these "Small Books," § 27, &c. There is scarcely perhaps a stronger proof in the history of human progress, of the light which Truth sheds on everything within its influence, than the improvement that modern agriculture has derived from the science of Chemistry. The earth has been in some sort cultivated from the time when Adam was sent forth to

till it, yet not until the last half century,* had the advantages the husbandman may derive from an acquaintance with the composition of the soil of his fields, been known, and little could the land-owners of the days in which the alchemist, half empiric and half enthusiast, was preparing the way by his toilsome and blind gropings for the more enlightened researches of his successors, imagine that the time would come when chemistry should, at least metaphorically, teach him how to turn earth into gold. The subject is worthy of all attention, not merely from the pecuniary advantage the scientific cultivator may reasonably expect to gain, but from the mental exercise which he may thus obtain, while laboring in his proper calling. The words of Sir Humphrey Davy, in concluding his volume on this subject, are admirable: "The same energy of character, the same extent of resources which have always distinguished the people of the British Islands, and made them excel in arms, commerce, letters, and philosophy, apply with the happiest effect to the improvement of the cultivation of the earth. Nothing is impossible to labor, aided by ingenuity. The true objects of the agriculturist are likewise those of the patriot. Men value most what they have gained with effort; a just confidence in their own powers results from success; they love their country better, because they have seen it improved by their own talents and industry; and they identify with their interests, the existence of those

* Sir Humphrey Davy, in his first lecture before the Board of Agriculture, delivered in the year 1802, says, "Agricultural Chemistry has not yet received a regular and systematic form. It has been pursued by competent experimenters but for a short time only; the doctrines have not as yet been collected into any elementary treatise," &c.

institutions which have afforded them security, independence, and the multiplied enjoyments of civilized life.”

CHAPTER III.

GROWTH AND SECRETIONS.

47. THE progress of the growth of a plant, and the annual course of vegetation remain to be considered, but it must be borne in mind, to use the words of Professor Henslow, that “of the precise manner in which the assimilation of nutriment takes place we know nothing, and the first steps towards the formation and development of any organized being are entirely concealed from us.” New cells, fibres, and vessels *are* most undoubtedly formed, or the leaf buds must remain for ever undeveloped, but we are ignorant of the immediate cause, and of the first commencement of the effect: for when we say that the *vital* action is excited (whether in the growth and nourishment of a plant or an animal), what do we more than state a fact, whose course we may indeed follow when we have once observed it, but whose origin is, in the present state of our knowledge, beyond our reach?—The course of growth, however, as far as we can trace it, seems to be the following. When a leaf bud begins to be developed, it is seen to be formed of a short axis surrounded by many leafy folds or scales. This axis begins to lengthen; the ascending sap is consumed by the developing leaves, which separate from each other by nearly equal distances, proving that the shoot in-

creases through its *whole* length. The power of extensibility, which is inherent in vegetable tissue, especially when young, is now probably an agent in the growth;—the ascending sap, which is partially decomposed in its upward course, supplies *some* nutritive matter to the young cells, and, it may be conjectured, stimulates them to that method of increase by the spontaneous formation of one cell on the surface of another, of which mention was made in describing the cellular tissue. The young leaves now begin to perform their office; they exhale water, decompose carbonic acid gas, and the formation of a descending current commences. This *descending* sap, depositing in its course such nutritive materials as are proper for the formation of wood, gradually solidifies the new shoot. If the ascent of the sap be augmented by placing the plant so that it may absorb a large quantity of water, or if the current of the descending sap be materially lessened, as will occur if it is in total darkness, then shoots are obtained extraordinarily long and herbaceous; as in the weeping willow, and in the blanched plants of flax, cultivated for the finest Flanders thread. On the contrary, if the quantity of water be diminished, and the plant exposed to the influence of such circumstances as will increase the fixation of carbon, we obtain shoots which are short, firm, and woody, as are seen in the dry and light situations of southern climates and high mountains. It appears from the above facts that the lengthening of the shoots depends on the influence of the *ascending* sap, while from the richness of the descending current, and consequent deposition of nutritive matter, arise its solidification and the diminution or cessation of vertical growth. Those plants which have the greatest tendency to form wood, attain proportionately the soonest to that

state of hardness which arrests the lengthening of the shoot; thus it is seen that there is a sensible relation between the slowness of increase in height in each tree, and the quantity of carbon which it furnishes to combustion. In herbaceous perennials, the nourishment, which would in trees serve to form ligneous matter, is deposited in their roots, as gum, starch, or sugar, and serves to feed the young shoots of the following year. The newly-formed branches of exogenous trees do not grow much in diameter till they have attained their length.

48. It cannot be said that the ascent of the sap is absolutely null during the winter, but it is then much weaker than in the remainder of the year. In the early spring two phenomena occur; the heat of the sun begins to be felt on the bark, or cellular envelop, and the more strongly in proportion to the youth of the plant; the vital action is excited, and the sap begins to rise from the roots, whose spongioles, at this epoch of vernal vegetation, rouse from their lethargic state.* Besides this effect, a second occurs, less visible indeed, but highly important: during the depth of winter, the earth has been warmer than the air; this comparative warmth is felt by the roots, in which all the accumulated nourishment of the preceding year remains; † their vitality is excited, and towards the end of winter radical fibres are formed; these being fresh and vigorous, begin to act, and pump up moisture from the soil: thus, the revival of vegetation is effected by the concurrence of two

* Perhaps from the circumstance that during the winter the roots, being full of the sap, which has been there stored up, are incapable of imbibing more until that begins to rise, which it does as soon as the influence of the sun is felt on the bark.

† If a bad preceding year has rendered the quantity of nourishment small, the vegetation of spring is proportionably weak.

causes—the activity of the roots, and of the cellular envelop. The sap arriving at the leafy parts* promotes the development of the buds; it first reaches those at the summit of the branches, either because it moves more readily in a vertical than in a lateral direction, or because the wood and bark of the extremity of the branches, being young and herbaceous, the cells have there retained a stronger vital action. When the action of the leaves has furnished a certain quantity of nutritive juice, it descends through the laticiferous tissue, supplies the material from which the tissues and secretions of the plant are formed, and which “being poured out between the bark and the newest layer of wood, is the viscid substance called *cambium*; in which the rudiments of the cellular tissue that is to form part of the new layer of wood, after a time present themselves. Even if this cambium be drawn off from the stem, its particles show a tendency to arrange themselves in a form resembling that of cells and vessels; though no perfect tissues are produced by this kind of coagulation.”† When this cambium is formed, the tree is said to be *in sap*. The gradual solidification of the tissues then proceeds, but the leaves continue to take up nourishment, till, after some months of spring and early summer, they are loaded with earthy and carbonaceous particles, and then the buds which are situated at their axils become comparatively more active than the leaves themselves, and now absorb the sap, while the leaf wholly or in part ceases to do so. This effect, taking place before the year is sufficiently advanced to check the second vegetation (or

* If the sap, as it rises, finds any fissure in the wood, it flows from it as from a fountain, as may be observed in what are called the *tears of the vine* when pressed.

† Carpenter's Veg. Phys., p. 208.

midsummer shoot, as it is called), continues, and fresh branches are developed. At length the leaves in autumn, being too much encumbered with solid matter to retain any activity, cease to perform their functions, and finally die. Then if, as has been shown (13), they are articulated, they fall off; if not, they are destroyed by the inclemency of the air. The leaves of what are called evergreens form no exception, although they endure longer than those of deciduous plants, and instead of all falling off together in the autumn, are renewed at various intervals; yet each individual leaf undergoes the ordinary course of growth and decay. The change of color which withering leaves present is a very curious subject, and one which the recent experiments of Sir John Herschel and others have tended to explain. Mr. Hunt thus expresses his views of this phenomenon: "The change in the color of leaves appears to be entirely dependent upon the absorption of oxygen, which all the green parts of plants have the power of absorbing, particularly in the dark. This true case of chemical affinity, it would appear, goes on equally with the spring or the summer leaves, but during these periods the vital force, under the stimulus of light, is exerted in producing the assimilation of the oxygen for the formation of the volatile oils, the resins, and the acids. In the autumn the exciting power is weakened; the summer sun has brought the plant to a certain state, and it has no longer the vital energy necessary for continuing these processes: consequently, the oxygen now acts in the same manner on the living plant, as we find in experiment it acts upon the dried green leaves, when moistened and exposed to its action: they absorb gas and change color." (*Researches on Light*, p. 201.)

To the fall of the leaf succeeds the dormant wintry state; there is no absorption of moisture from the air, except through the cellular envelop; the roots have not yet formed the young radicles, and are in their least active state; and on account of these concurring circumstances, this is the most favorable period for transplanting.

49. Cellular plants have, as has been said before, no true vessels; their fibres, if they may be so called, are composed only of elongated cells, and are never identical with the ligneous fibre. The formation of the elongated cells, when such exist, determines the direction of the juices; thus in the mosses, for instance, the stem receives the water at its base, and by its radical fibrils, and transmits it in a longitudinal direction to the leaves, which direction is determined by the elongated cells. These plants are likewise nearly devoid of stomata, and can therefore only exhale the superabundant water slowly, and almost imperceptibly, and as a simple effect of the porous nature of the tissue. The nourishment of the cellular tribes appears then to be thus accomplished; the water which reaches them penetrates either at given points, or by the whole surface, and reaches the cells, where it is elaborated by each, separately, in its own cavity.

50. As the blood of animals performs two distinct offices, first, depositing throughout the whole body the materials necessary for the nourishment of each organ; and, secondly, undergoing, in certain particular organs, named *glands*, an operation which is called *secretion*, and from which results the formation of particular juices; so in the vegetable economy, the sap, besides affording the general sustenance which has been considered above, experiences a peculiar action in certain organs, and furnishes pecu-

liar secretions as the result. These secretions never form any part of the tissue of a plant, and are either *excrementitious*, i. e., those which are thrown off; or *special secretions*, which remain, in most cases, where they are formed, and are seldom removed from one organ to another: but in others pervade the whole plant, and, as in the case of Tannin, impregnate the soil around them. The excretions are extremely various, and are probably a provision for the removal of some material which is useless or injurious to the plant. One of the most singular is that of the *fraxinella*, though this is probably of the same class with the volatile oils to be mentioned presently. If at the close of a dry, hot day, a light be held near the top of that plant, the vapor which surrounds it takes fire, and burns with a lambent flame, without injury to the plant. This vapor appears to be of the nature of an extremely volatile oil, which escapes from the small glands that cover the surface of the plant, for the white *fraxinella*, which has fewer glands than the red, exhibits the phenomenon in a slighter degree. Other excretions are acid, some are caustic, some glutinous (such as the leaves of the gum cistus). Some plants secrete a waxy matter from their surface; others saline or saccharine particles. Manna is one of these excretions; it both exudes naturally, and is also obtained when artificial incisions have been made in the tree. It would be impossible to describe, or even enumerate, all the excretions of plants in this treatise; the above may convey an idea of their nature.

51. The *Special Secretions* are liquids secreted in the bark, or some other organ. Their principal characters are,

1. That they are all composed of two or more

principles, which can be separated, and are not homogeneous, like the nutritive juice, which, although it may of course, by chemical analysis, be resolved into its elementary constituents, presents no such peculiar principle as do the special secretions.

2. These latter contain (in addition to their carbon), oxygen and hydrogen, *not* in the proportion in which they combine to form water, but with a preponderance of one or the other of those gases, and some of them, and those the most important to man, also contain azote, *i. e.*, nitrogen.

3. All these secretions, if they are absorbed by the roots of living plants, even by those which produced them, act on them as poisons—a sufficient proof of their not being intended to percolate the plant in the manner of the nutritive juices.

They consist principally of four divisions:—1, Milky, and 2, Resinous Juices, 3, Volatile, and 4, Fixed Oils,* and the *local* secretions, properly so called. The milky and resinous fluids, which form the first two classes, are sometimes expelled from the plant by accident or disease, and are almost always capable of removal from one portion of the plant to another. Professor Henslow gives among the milky juices the following curious instance of a tree called the Cow Tree, from Humboldt: “On the barren flank of a rock grows a tree with dry and leather-like leaves; its large woody roots can scarcely penetrate into the stony soil. For several months in the year not a single shower moistens its foliage. Its branches appear dead and dried; yet as soon as the trunk is pierced, there flows from it a sweet and nourishing milk. It is at sunrise that this vegetable

* With the fixed oils should perhaps be classed the vegetable tallows and butters.

fountain is most abundant. The natives are then to be seen hastening from all quarters, furnished with large bowls to receive the milk, which grows yellow and thickens at the surface. Some empty their bowls under the tree, while others carry home the juice to their children. The milk, obtained by incisions made in the trunk, is glutinous, tolerably thick, free from all acrimony, and of an agreeable and balmy smell." The milky juices are contained in the bark and leaves, the volatile oils in closed cells, from which they are probably only exhaled in consequence of the permeability of the tissue, whence it happens that the organs which secrete these oils are in general strongly odorous. The fixed, or *fat* oils, as they are called, are formed in cells, from which they never escape by any natural process, but must be artificially extracted. The caoutchouc (India rubber) is an instance of a milky secretion, as are also our common spurge, and opium, the well-known product of the white poppy. Most of the juices to which the name of *milky* has been applied are *white*, but not all of them, for instance, the lactic secretion of our English celandine is of a brilliant orange color. Of the resinous juices one example, common resin, is familiar to every one. Of this class are the true balms, Gum Benzoin, &c. Examples of volatile or *essential* oils, as they are otherwise called, such as those of the rose, &c., will readily occur to every one's recollection; and the fixed oils, those, for instance, of the nut, the almond, linseed oil (the product of the seed of the flax), olive oil, so useful for both food and light to the inhabitants of the south of Europe, with many others, are too well known to need more particular notice here. The principal chemical distinction between the volatile and fixed oils is that the former

are powerfully odorous, slightly soluble in water, with which they pass over in distillation, communicating their flavor to it; and that they are volatilized by heat without decomposition. The fixed oils, on the contrary, are inodorous and insipid, support two or three hundred degrees of heat without volatilizing, and are decomposed at a higher temperature. In a physiological point of view their difference is equally striking. The volatile oils are found in the leaves or in the cortical system, the usual place of the secretions; the fixed oils are either situated in the seeds themselves, or more rarely in the tissue of the pericarp.

52. There are many local secretions, of which a detailed account belongs more properly to a chemical treatise than to one that, like the present, is only physiological, and also too brief to do more than glance at the other sciences immediately connected with the subject: it will therefore only be possible to notice these secretions slightly here. They consist of acids, such as *citric, malic, acetic, &c.*, *prussic acid* (remarkable by the absence of oxygen) which is found in peach and laurel leaves, &c., of *Gluten, Albumen, Tannin* and *Coloring matter*, of which indigo is one of the most important, and a variety of other secretions or *principles*, each confined to the particular vegetable in which it is found, such as *Asparagin*, whose name denotes its origin from the asparagus.

53. Besides the above, substances are found in plants which are purely mineral, and which are principally lime, magnesia, silica, alumina, and perhaps barytes. Potash and soda are found in very large quantities. Iron, manganese, and copper* have

* Copper was found by M. Bischoff, Dr. Meissner and M. Sarzeau. See De Candolle, *Phys. Veg.*, vol. i. p. 389.

been observed, and besides the above there are occasionally found in plants chlorine, iodine, sulphur, and phosphorus. The reader is referred to No. 4 of these little treatises* for further particulars on the chemical part of the subject.

54. Those whose leisure permits, and whose inclination leads them closely to examine into the simple yet marvelous chemistry by which compounds, absolutely essential to the animal economy, but which it has no direct power of preparing for itself, are formed for it in the vegetable organism, will perceive how true it is that the more we search into those phenomena which we daily and hourly witness and experience, the more we shall see that nothing has been made in vain, and the more resistless will be the proof that such a chain of causes and effects as may be traced from one end of creation to the other, could only have had their origin in that One Mind to which everything is ever present, and who, in the very "constitution and course of nature," has stamped too deeply to be effaced, even amid the moral disorder man's folly has introduced, the "image" of his own perfection, and the "supercription" that the work of his hand is "*very good.*" To God then let all "render the things that are God's," by a full acknowledgment of his wisdom and goodness in thus supplying what they need, and by making such a use of those gifts as may best prove their gratitude, and most tend to the glory of the Giver.

* "Introduction to Organic Chemistry."

CHAPTER IV.

REPRODUCTION OF PLANTS.

55. The reproduction of plants from seed is the chief object of all those wonderful organs, a description of which will now be given, and it would be difficult if not impossible to find in the whole of the beautiful world around us, anything more admirable than the organization by which that object is attained; while the parts are, in many instances, so minute as to require the assistance of the microscope to discover them at all. It has been said above, that the *chief* office of that lovely portion of the vegetable kingdom, the flowers which glow like gems in our sight, is to reproduce the species; but it would be ingratitude to assert that they have no other end to answer. The mere purpose of reproduction might doubtless have been effected with no beauty to charm the eye, but it pleased Him who made that exquisite organ, also to furnish it with objects that should delight it, and we can scarcely behold these jewels of the field, and not say of them as the son of Sirach did of the brilliant bow whose tints they emulate, "Look on the '*flowers*' and praise Him who made them; very beautiful they are in the brightness thereof."

56. Plants are distinguished, with reference to the organs of fructification, into two great classes,—*phanerogamic*, or those which have their flowers visible to the naked eye, and are more or less symmetrical; and *cryptogamic*, in which the flowers, if they exist, are invisible except by the microscope,

and are little, if at all, symmetrical. In the former group the seed-bearing and fecundating organs are very distinct; in the latter they are not so.—The first include all the Exogenes, and the greater part of the Endogenes; the second all the cellulares, and some of the Endogenes.

57. At a longer or shorter period before a Phanerogamic plant is about to put forth blossoms, points appear called *Flower Buds*, surrounded like the *Leaf Buds* above described, by developed or undeveloped leaves, and like them really situated at the axil of a leaf, though that leaf may have been rudimentary and obliterated,*—these points in due time expand into the perfect flower—and if a transverse section be made of them, they will be found to be most exquisitely folded together in the state to which botanists have applied the term *æstivation*.

When the Flower Buds are unfolded and have expanded into flowers, they are seen to be composed of one or more whorls of leaves, surrounding and protecting the organs of reproduction.† In anatomical structure they do not differ from true leaves.

* The subject of symmetrical arrangement in the parts of a plant is a very curious one, but involves too much technical and botanical detail to be properly introduced here. Whether it really exist to the extent that botanists have supposed, or not, there is ample proof that the general law is that of symmetry, and the deviations from it the exceptions: the reader who wishes for detailed information on this point is referred to the 6th chapter ("Morphology") of Professor Henslow, "Principles of Descriptive and Physiological Botany."

† If but one whorl exists it is always considered by botanists as a *Calyx*, whether it be green or colored,—if more than one whorl is present the *outer* one is always the calyx,—the inner whorls being the *Corolla*,—while the general term *Perianth*, is applied to the whole floral envelop together,—any more minute notice of the forms and divisions of the calyx and corolla would be inconsistent with the intention of the present treatise, which does not profess to be an Introduction to Botany.

Situated immediately within the *inner* whorls of these leaves, if more than one be present, we find the organs of fructification, the *Stamens* and *Pistils*.

58. Each *Stamen* consists of two parts, the anther, and the filament; the latter is a slender stalk by which the stamen is attached to the flower, but is not an essential portion of the organ, and is sometimes wanting; it is formed of spiral vessels, surrounded by cellular tissue—on the top of this filament, or occasionally, though rarely, sessile on the flower, is the *Anther*,—a case of cellular tissue, usually consisting of two lobes, which contain the Pollen. This is the indispensable part of the fructifying organ.

59. The *Pollen** is a collection of minute cases, “containing a fluid in which float grains of starch and drops of oil. It is furnished with apertures through which its lining is protruded, in the form of a delicate tube, when the pollen comes in contact with the stigma.”† The shape of the pollen grains varies extremely; “its function is to vivify the ovules.”‡

60. The *Pistil* occupies the centre of the flower, and consists of three parts; the *ovary*, the *style*, and the *stigma*. “The ovary is a hollow case enclosing *ovules* (or young seeds). It contains one or more cavities, called *cells*. The stigma is the upper extremity of the pistil. The style is the part that connects the ovary and stigma; it is frequently absent, and is no more essential to a pistil, than a

* Any one who wishes to study minutely the wonderful varieties in form, &c., of the Pollen will find the subject illustrated by most exquisite microscopic drawings in the German work by Fritzsche (“Ueber den Pollen”) and in another in the same language (“Ueber das Pollen der Asclepiadeen”) by Ehrenberg.

† Lindley, *El. Bot.*, pp. 47, 49, 50.

‡ *Ibid.*

petiole to a leaf, or a filament to an anther.”* The pistil, or *ovarium*, is frequently composed of several *carpels*, (61) each having its separate ovary, style, and stigma.

61. *Carpel*. The pistil, anatomically considered, is in reality a modified leaf, or whorl of leaves, and a carpel “is formed by a folded leaf, the upper surface of which is turned inwards and the lower outwards; and within which are developed one or a greater number of buds, which are the *ovules*.”†

62. The *Ovule*, as has just been seen, is contained within the carpel, and becomes the germ of the new plant; it is either naked or enclosed in a covering, sometimes sessile, sometimes stalked: in its most complete state it consists of a nucleus, surrounded by two coats or integuments.

63. The *Fruit* is the mature state of the pistil or carpels.

* Lindley, *El. Bot.* pp. 47, 49, 50.

† Lindley's *Elements of Botany*, p. 50.

Professor Lindley has made the subject of the carpels so clear in his “*Ladies' Botany*” that it may be well to add his explanation to what is given above. “Next to the stamens, and occupying the very centre of the flower,” (the common *Ranunculus*, or *Buttercup*, is the one he takes as his example,) “are a number of little green grains, which look almost like green scales; they are collected in a heap, and are seated upon a small elevated receptacle; we call them *carpels*. They are too small to be seen readily without a magnifying glass; but if they are examined in that way, you will remark that each is roundish at the bottom, and gradually contracted into a kind of short bent horn at the top; the rounded part is the *ovary*, the horn is the *style*; and the tip of the style, which is rather more shining and somewhat wider than the style itself, is named the *stigma*: so that a carpel consists of ovary, style, and stigma. At first sight you may take the carpels to be solid, and, if you already know something of botany, you may fancy them to be young seeds; but in both opinions, you would be mistaken. The ovary of each carpel is hollow and contains a young seed called an *ovule*, or little egg; so that the carpel, instead of being the seed, is the part that contains the seed.” (Letter I. p. 7.)

64. The ovary of the pistil becomes what botanists call the *Pericarp* of the fruit; it has a great variety of names, dependent on the number of carpels, their situation, the quality of their texture, &c.

65. The *Seed* is the perfected ovule; it is covered with an integument, which is sometimes curiously spread out so as to form wings, and contains the embryo lying in it as the embryo chick is in the egg, and often similarly surrounded by the albumen which affords its nourishment.

66. *Spores*. The principal organs of reproduction in those plants, called *Acrogens* or *Flowerless*, which are destitute of stamens and pistils, are called spores; these are cells which are seen by a microscope to be analogous to a grain of pollen; the cases containing them are termed *thecæ* or *sporangia*.

Sori are clusters of thecæ, and the *Indusium* is a portion of the epidermis which encloses them.

67. The reproduction of plants is of two kinds, that by seed and that by division, which is either natural or artificial, and will afterwards be noticed. When the flower is fully developed,—a period which arrives in different kinds of plants at very different times,—in some for instance, in the first, in others in the second year of their existence,—a process occurs by which that contact between the pollen (59) and the stigma (60) takes place, which in all the phanerogamic plants is absolutely essential to the reproduction of the species by seed. This contact or impregnation is thus effected. "The pollen emits a tube of extreme delicacy, which pierces the stigma and style, and passing downwards into the ovary,"* thus reaches the ovule. The result of this process is the gradual development of the embryo

* Lindley's "Elements of Botany," p. 56.

which becomes the fruit: or, in other words, the pistil, after this impregnation, arrives at maturity, and the ovary of the pistil becomes the pericarp of the fruit. This main fact remains in all cases unaltered, though in consequence of the non-development or obliteration of some of the parts, the identity of the fruit with the original pistil is sometimes difficult to recognize. Various names have been applied to fruits according to their form, nature, &c.—All, however, are receptacles for the seed, which is the perfect state of the ovule, as the fruit generally, is of the pistil.

The provisions for ensuring this necessary contact between the pollen and the stigma, are among some of the most curious in nature. The stamens of many plants, by a spontaneous movement, approach the pistil at the season when fructification should commence. The action of water on the pollen, which would be injurious to it, is in some cases avoided by the corolla closing on the approach of rain, and in aquatic plants the organs of fructification are defended from wet, by being produced in a cavity filled with air, or by the flowers being raised above the surface of the water. The *Vallisneria*, whose flowers are diœceous (that is, the pistil is situated on one plant, and the stamens on another) is a very remarkable instance of the method by which the contact of the two organs is effected. It grows in the waters of the south of Europe, strongly embedded in the mud by its roots. The pistils are situated in flowers, which are on long peduncles, spirally rolled up at first, but which uncurl till they reach the surface. The flowers which bear the stamens have, on the contrary, a very short peduncle, but the buds form little bladders, on which they float, detached from

their stems, around the pistilliferous flowers, they then expand, emit their pollen, and die.

68. The seed itself consists, as has been stated above (65), of an embryo, and of the albumen, &c., which nourish and protect it. This embryo, "the organized body that lies within the seed, and for the purpose of protecting and nourishing which the seed was created," "consists of the cotyledons, the radicle, the plumule, and the collar."* The cotyledons are those undeveloped leaves which are seen to push their way above the ground when a plant first makes its appearance: they vary in number, but most usually there are either one or two of them. If a plant have but one cotyledon, it is said to be *Monocotyledonous*, which is the case with all the *Endogenous* tribes; if there be two or more, the plant is called *Dicotyledonous*, in which latter division all the *Exogenous* tribes are found. The *Cryptogamia* are all *Acotyledonous*—that is, without cotyledons.

69. The ascending portion of the embryo plant is called the plumule, and is sometimes hardly distinguishable from the cotyledons; the descending portion is named the radicle, and forms the future root, &c.: the collar is the line of separation between them. "When the seed is called into action, germination takes place. The juices of the plant, which before were insipid, immediately afterwards abound with sugar," as in the conversion of barley into malt, "which process consists in promoting the germination of the seed by moderate heat and moisture, and checking it by the higher temperature of the kiln as soon as the largest possible quantity of saccharine matter is formed. When the seed has germinated, and sugar is produced, the period of

* Lindley.

growth commences." This growth is in the first instance caused by the absorption and decomposition of water, whose oxygen combines with the superfluous carbon of the seed, and is expelled in the form of carbonic acid gas. When the absorption of oxygen has removed a sufficient quantity of carbon from the seed, "the young plant begins to absorb food, and to grow by the processes of assimilation and respiration already described;" and as soon as the seed is once active it receives, by a special provision of nature, a larger proportional share of the sap than any other part of the plant. Probably the heat produced by the consumption of its carbon is also essential to the welfare of the newly formed plant, and may give the necessary stimulus which brings its organs into action.

70. The fact that darkness is essential to germination has long been known—"an embryo, exposed to constant light, would not germinate at all, and hence the care taken by nature to provide a covering to all embryos in the form of the integument of the seed, or of a pericarp." Mr. Hunt has recently turned his attention to this subject, and he remarks thus on it: "It is not at present in our power to explain in anything like a satisfactory manner the way in which the luminous rays act in preventing germination. The changes which take place in the seed during the process have been investigated by Saussure: oxygen gas is consumed, and carbonic acid gas evolved; and the volume of the latter is exactly equal to the volume of the former. The grain weighs less after germination than it did before; the loss of weight varying from one-third to one-fifth. This loss of course depends on the combination of its carbon with the oxygen absorbed, which is evolved as carbonic acid. According to

Prout, malted and unmalted Barley differ in the following respects :

	Unmalted	Malted
Resin	1	1
Gum	4	15
Sugar	5	15
Gluten	3	1
Starch	32	56
Hordein	55	12
	100	100

This shows that the insoluble principle, hordein, is, in the process of germination, converted into the soluble and nutritive principles, starch, gum, and sugar. We are therefore at present left in considerable doubt; we can only suppose that the luminous solar rays act, as indeed we find them to do on many of the argentine preparations, in preventing those chemical changes which depend upon the absorption of oxygen. A like interference has been observed by Sir John Herschell to be exerted by the red rays of the spectrum; and from the manner in which germination is impeded in the seeds covered by deep red media, we may trace a somewhat similar influence.”*

All Mr. Hunt's experiments prove “that the process of germination is obstructed by the influence of light on the surface of the soil, although the bulbs and seed have been buried some depth beneath it.”†

“One very remarkable result,” says Mr. Hunt, “must be noticed; under all ordinary circumstances plants bend in a very decided manner *towards the*

* “Researches on Light,” p. 192.

† *Ib.*, p. 191.

light. In all my experiments with red fluid media, they have as decidedly bent from it."*

* "Researches on Light," p. 319.

A very curious phenomena which from its usually taking place in the evening has been called the *sleep of plants*, appears to be principally owing to the influence of light. The fact itself is, that in certain plants the leaves fold up, and sometimes grasp the stem. It occurs also in some flowers which shut up periodically, and the inference that light is probably the agent in producing this effect, was drawn by M. de Candolle from the circumstance that he found the period of its occurrence could be reversed by excluding the light from the plants during the day time, and placing them in strong lamp light at night. (*De Candolle, Phys. Veg.*, vol. ii. p. 860.)

It was remarked in an earlier part of this little work, that the influence which the study of one science has on many others, with which it appeared in the first instance to promise no connection, was illustrated by the benefit that agriculture derives from chemistry; another proof of the fact that in the observation of natural phenomena, and the rational investigation of their causes, it is impossible to foresee or limit the beneficial results which may follow, even where we have least reason to anticipate them, is afforded by the comparatively novel subject of Photography. This, which at first appeared but an ingenious application of a natural agency to the purposes of art, is assuming, in the hands of some of our greatest philosophers, the rank of a science, which promises to lead to discoveries equally curious and important. The true nature of that sunbeam, whose wonderful operation can either call forth the vital energy of a plant, cause it to perform its functions of growth and nutrition, yet prove detrimental to its germination; or delineate its portrait with a fidelity and beauty unknown to the pencil of man on the sensitive surface presented to it, has yet to be fully ascertained; but that it has other properties than were supposed before the subject of Actino-Chemistry came under the investigation of Herschell and others, seems already established; and who shall assign a limit to the possible results which may arise from a clearer knowledge of the nature and operation of such an agent in the universe. It may as yet seem to bear little on the immediate subject of the present work, but it is impossible to assert, that a further insight into the nature of a cause whose effects on vegetation are so decided, may not prove of great practical benefit; and although its study is no new branch of science in itself, yet the new aspect under which it is now pursued may probably lead to unanticipated Truth.

71. In whatever manner a seed may be placed in the ground, it invariably shoots forth its plumule in an ascending, and its radicle in a descending direction. Invert it as we may, the result will be the same; but on what vital energy within the plant the constancy of this fact depends, seems yet entirely uncertain. Whether it arise from the tendency of upper portions of plants to seek the light, or from any other cause, the reason is equally obscure, and we can hardly reckon on its being ascertained by the most minute investigation; it seems to belong to that class of phenomena in nature whose ultimate principles are too subtle for our grasp, and *appear* to depend on that *vitality* which we can indeed perceive most palpably in its effects, but whose cause is known only to the Creator; whether modern science will be permitted to approximate nearer to the truth on this and some few similar subjects must remain at least doubtful: at all events we are not now in possession of any wholly satisfactory solution of the difficulty.

“That gravity is an important agent in determining the difference between the directions taken by the root and stem, is shown by an ingenious experiment of Mr. Knight. He placed some French beans on the circumference of two wheels, and so secured them that they could not be thrown off when a rapid rotatory motion was given to the wheels. One wheel was disposed horizontally, the other vertically, and both were kept in constant motion while the beans were germinating. The radicles of those beans which germinated on the vertical wheel extended themselves outwards, or from the centre, and the plumules inwards, or towards it. Those which were placed on the horizontal wheel pushed their radicles downwards and their plumules upwards;

but the former were also inclined from and the latter towards the axis of the wheel. This inclination was found to be greater as the velocity of the wheel was increased. Now in the vertical wheel the effects of gravity were nullified; since the beans were constantly changing their position with respect to those parts which were alternately uppermost and lowermost, in each revolution. The only cause which could have produced the effects described must be the centrifugal force, which has here replaced the effects of gravity, compelling the root to grow outwards and the stem inwards, instead of downwards and upwards. The effect produced upon the horizontal wheel is evidently the result of the combined action of the forces—gravity inclining the root downwards, and the centrifugal force propelling it outwards; and the reverse with regard to the stem. Although it is plain that gravity is the efficient cause in establishing the directions of the stems and roots of plants, it is not so easy to understand the manner in which it produces opposite effects on these two organs. Various theories have been formed to account for this, and the most plausible is that which ascribes it to the different manners in which the newly developed tissues are added to the root and stem. In the root the addition is almost entirely confined to the very extremity, while the stem continues to increase for some time through its whole length. Hence it is supposed that the soft materials continually deposited at the extremity of the root must ever be tending downwards from the effect of gravity alone." (*Henslow's Principles of Botany*, p. 292.)

Is it not probable that we may find the agency of light connected with the fact of the plumule ascending?

72. The reproduction of the tribes of the Cryptogamia takes place in a very different manner from that of the flowering plants. In all of them it occurs spontaneously, and without any contact between one part of the plant and another. At the season of the year when the lowest tribes of all, such as the Red Snow, the Conservæ, &c., are to reproduce their species, a number of small granules are liberated by the bursting asunder of the cell which enclosed them. They gradually develop themselves into cells, acquire the size and form of the parent plant, and become distinct individuals, capable in their turn of producing others like themselves. The *apparatus of reproduction* if we may so call it, increases in complexity as it approaches the higher orders, but in all except the cells just mentioned, the immediate organ is called a *spore*,* and is analogous to the seed of the flowering plant.

73. It has been seen that in reproduction by seed, each germ has the power of becoming developed, after fecundation, into a separate individual plant, entirely distinct from that which gave it birth. In addition to this accustomed mode of increase, plants are also propagated by *division*; and this is either natural or artificial, and depends on two circumstances: in one, the ascending organs are first developed, or in other words an adventitious leaf bud (35) is produced, and these favor the subsequent development of the roots; in the other, roots are first formed, and by their action promote the development of the

* "It is in the spores that the power of increase resides; every one of them will form a new plant, and consequently they are analogous to seeds, but, as they do not result from the action of pollen upon a stigma, they are not real seeds, but only the representations of those organs amongst the flowerless plants." (*Lindley's Ladies' Bot.*, p. 270.)

ascending system. The former is in general the case when the germ is found surrounded by a sufficient deposit of nourishment to sustain it till it can push forth its roots: this nourishment is furnished by the mother-plant from the descending juices. To this sort of buds may be given the general name of tubercles, though botanists designate them by a variety of appellations. In all tubercles a phenomenon occurs which distinguishes their germination from that of seed; in the latter the radicle is always first developed, while in the tubercle the ascending part,—that which corresponds to the plumule,—is first put forth. The common potato is an instance of this mode of increase; the tubercles are detached towards the end of the year either by the death of the stem on which they grow, or by the slightest accident, and falling on the ground, vegetation ensues. This single example is sufficient for the present purpose; the phenomenon exists in many other plants under various forms. In the cases in which vegetation commences in the descending system, that is, in which roots, whose development is always effected through the descending juices, are first formed, the result is produced in some portion of the stem which is found to contain a deposit of nutritive matter, and which is within reach of moisture. This effect occurs naturally in some stems, but is facilitated by any cause which tends to arrest the nutritive juice in its descent, and so to form an accumulation of it at a given part. Thus in nature when a portion of a stem containing such an accumulation, is buried beneath a humid soil, and has a fleshy bark, it tends to put out roots, which it does naturally by what are called “suckers,” and man, profiting by this provision, adopts the method of increasing by layers, pipings, cuttings, &c., since it is found

that the part thus endowed may be separated from the parent trunk, and being composed of the two parts that constitute an individual plant, a stem and a root, is capable of an independent existence. In some instances a leaf planted in the ground will vegetate from its central nervure.

74. There is one great difference notwithstanding so much apparent identity, between the products of the two methods of reproduction above mentioned. In the case of propagation by seed, the embryo is really, and from the first moment of its existence, a being distinct from the parent plant, the seed is furnished with all the organs it requires; the tubercle, on the contrary, is but a fragment of the plant that bore it, and has gradually to form for itself the needful organs. The seed, being entirely distinct, *may* only resemble the original plant by the general characteristics that belong to its kind; while the tubercle or the cutting, being actually portions of the plant itself, preserves its minutest particularities. A very curious instance of reproduction occurs in the lemna, or common duckweed. If one of its little discs be placed in a saucer, we shall soon see it send forth laterally a tubercle which grows in a horizontal direction, puts out a root underneath, and thus forms a second plant similar to the former, but united with it. This double disc continues to vegetate in the same manner, and so on.

75. Besides the method of increase by cuttings, tubercles, &c., mentioned above, another exists which is, as all gardeners well know, of immense practical utility—that of *grafting*. All parts of plants have the power of uniting together by their cellular tissue,—thus we see even in those which consist only of cellular substance that such adhesions take place. The name of *graft* has been especially given to one

case of adhesion, that in which the liber, and particularly pith, of two plants unite so nicely together that the part called the graft can receive its sap, and thus live by the nourishment it derives through the organs of the old plant; thus artificially doing what parasitic plants, such as the mistletoe, do by nature. There is, however, a limit to this operation; if we except parasitical and some few natural adhesions, we shall find that artificially it is only plants of the same natural family that can be grafted together with anything like permanent success, and only those of families strongly analogous in which any union will take place at all. When they are not of the same family the grafts are of short duration in consequence of their physiological difference from the tree to which they have been united. Grafts are of three kinds—that ordinarily so called, in which a severed portion of a stem is united to another tree, whose bark has been cut away at the proper spot,—that by approach, which consists of drawing two branches or two trees together, each remaining in the ground held by its own roots, and taking off the bark of each at the point of contact; the liber and pith of the two plants soon unite by the development of their cambium, and one of them may then be cut away below the junction. The third method is by the insertion of a portion of a stem containing a bud in the axil of a leaf, within the bark of the tree on which we desire to ingraft it; the bud thus inserted receives nourishment from the juices of the tree in which it is placed, and is developed as it would have been on the stem from which it was originally taken.

76. There are various subjects of great interest connected with the reproduction of plants, whether from seed or division, but which are too numerous

to be dwelt on in an elementary work ; among them is the production of hybrid varieties by fertilizing the stigma of one plant with the pollen from another, which may occur accidentally, if the plants are in each other's neighbourhood, or may be effected at pleasure between those whose natural affinities are very close. In this manner modern gardeners have succeeded in raising numberless varieties of favorite genera. The effect of culture and care generally, as is universally known, is to improve the beauty and value of the vegetable productions by which we are so bountifully surrounded. This subject, interesting as it is, can here be only recommended to notice, without further entering on it. Its details may afford to those whose local situation enables them practically to pursue them, an occupation at once healthy to both body and mind, and so connected with chemistry and mineralogy, as to lead on from the simple nurture of a pretty or useful plant, to the study of some of the most important of the sciences.

77. What great antiquity the method of grafting may claim, we may gather from St. Paul's exhortation to the Gentiles in the 11th chapter of his Epistle to the Romans, in which the metaphor is used throughout with an evident knowledge of the subject. Indeed the custom appears to have been one with which practical gardeners have been familiar for ages, and to which attention has been at times particularly turned.

In the *Philosophical Transactions* for 1675, mention is made of a work by Abraham Munting, printed three years before, which shows that his attention was practically given to the cultivation of fruit trees, and to the improvement of the sorts by grafting. "To obtain extraordinary good, large, and beautiful apple fruit," he advises "by all means to graft good

grafts upon such apple stocks as are produced from the seed, and have been deprived of *their heart root which shoots downwards.*"*

To the invaluable and long continued investigations and experiments of Mr. Andrew Knight, however, and to his acute reasoning on the subject, the present highly improved knowledge of the best method of grafting trees, and of the general nature of the subject, is mainly owing. In a paper published in the *Phil. Trans.* for 1795, Mr. Knight gives a very interesting account of the experiments which convinced him of the fact, so important in its practical results, that "every cutting taken from the apple, and probably every other tree, will be affected by the state of the parent stock. If that be too young to produce fruit, it will grow with vigor but will not blossom; and if it be too old, it will immediately produce fruit, but will never make a healthy tree, and consequently never answer the intention of the planter." Having suspected that the decay in some trees he had seen recently grafted might be the consequence of the diseased condition of the grafts, Mr. Knight says, "I concluded that if I took scions or buds from trees grafted in the year preceding, I should succeed in propagating any kind I chose. With this view, I inserted some cuttings of the best wood I could find in the old trees, on young stocks raised from seed. I again inserted grafts and buds taken from these on other young stocks, and wishing to get rid of all connection with the old trees, I repeated this six years; each year taking the young shoots from the trees last grafted. Stocks of different kinds were tried, some were double graf-

* *Phil. Trans.* abridged, vol. xix. p. 192-3, "Account of some new books."

ted, others obtained from apple trees which grew from cuttings, and others from the seed of each kind of fruit afterwards inserted on them; I was surprised to find that many of these stocks inherited all the diseases of the parent trees."—Mr. Knight came at last to the conclusion, which subsequent experience has fully confirmed, "that all efforts, to make grafts from old and worn out trees grow, are ineffectual," and that "the durability of the apple and pear may be different in different varieties, but that none of either would vegetate with vigor much, if at all, beyond the life of the parent stock. I am confirmed in this opinion by the books on this subject; of the apples mentioned and described by Parkinson, the names only remain, and those since applied to other kinds now also worn out; but many of Evelyn's still remain (1795), particularly the red streak. This apple, he informs us, was raised from seed by Lord Scudamore in the beginning of the last century. We have many trees of it, but they appear to have been in a state of decay during the last forty years the durability of the pear is probably something more than double that of the apple." Many of the readers of this paragraph will probably recall to mind the gradual and complete extinction of the unrivaled "Golden Pippin," which has evidently afforded a proof of the truth of Mr. Knight's deductions. His experiments on seedling apples, while the excellence of several of the sorts affords much encouragement to gardeners and landed proprietors to imitate his example, and endeavor to replace by new fruit trees of equal goodness, the kinds whose limit of duration may be pretty nearly guessed, also show the necessity in this, as in most pursuits, of the valuable qualities of patience and perseverance which he must himself have possessed in so great a degree,

since of the seeds he sowed he reckoned that one in a thousand came up which was not a crab, and one in a thousand of these became a good eating apple.

78. There is one more subject, connected with reproduction by seed, which is too curious to be passed over; the wonderful tenacity of vegetable life. This, indeed, is shown in the plants themselves in many instances, such as the enormous longevity of some trees, particularly the oak, the yew, and some of foreign growth,* but it seems even more extraordinary as it exists in seeds. The latter will remain torpid for many months or even years without injury. Corn grains enclosed in the bandages which envelop the mummies, are said to have occasionally germinated, though most of them seem to have lost their vitality. There is nothing improbable in the fact; but as the Arabs, from whom the mummies are commonly obtained, are in the habit of previously unrolling them in search of coins, &c., it is not always certain that the seeds which have sprouted, were really at first enclosed with the mummies.†

* In the Appendix will be found translated a table given by De Candolle of the *presumed* age of some celebrated trees. (B.)

† Carpenter's Veg. Physiol., § 451.

CHAPTER V.

COMPARISON OF VEGETABLE WITH ANIMAL PHYSIOLOGY.

79. IT is impossible to consider the subject of Vegetable Physiology and organization, without being struck by the analogy which it presents in so many points to that of Animals.—Yet, however strong may be that analogy, it never in any instance becomes identity, and the marked fact, noticed in the Introduction, that the latter in all cases convey their food by the mouth to a stomach, is alone sufficient to establish a boundary between them;* the comparison, however, between the two, is so interesting and instructive, that a few words may be well bestowed upon the subject.

The whole range of functions both of animals and plants, that is to say as far as nutrition and reproduction are concerned, affords ample illustrations of the near approach to similarity in the two kingdoms—a few examples of each may prove the truth of

* There does indeed appear to be one group, about which some doubt exists in the mind of some physiologists as to its reference to the animal or vegetable kingdom. "They are mostly," says Dr. Carpenter, "formed of cells jointed together, as the *Confervæ*; but some of them seem to possess a different interior structure; and others exhibit very curious motions, which can scarcely be distinguished with certainty from those of animals." (Carpenter's *Veg. Phy.*, p. 44.)

this assertion, while the difference will also in general be equally perceptible. In the entire course of that function by which the individual is nourished, the main point holds good in both cases; i. e., that matter fitted for its food is taken into the system by the appointed organs, thence conveyed through the necessary channels, assimilated and converted into the requisite substance for continuing and replenishing the tissue of the body, and furnishing the needful secretions, while such as is unavailing to any of these purposes, is excreted. In the plant, however, the juices are not conveyed to a single receptacle, there to be elaborated, but, according to the process detailed in the foregoing pages, are gradually in their progress converted from the crude into the nutritive sap. The circulation of this sap, and the power of the glands to convert it into peculiar secretions, suggests immediately to the mind the idea of an analogy with the circulation of the blood in animals, and a fanciful imagination might see a degree of further likeness to the venous and arterial blood in the two states of the sap. The similarity, however, though it does exist, is but very partial, no one general circuit of the sap throughout the system, as there is of the blood originally propelled from the heart, really taking place. Again the tissue produced and nourished in the two kingdoms, though very analogous in some respects, is by no means identical:—the *cellular texture* of animals differing from the *cellular tissue* of plants by its structure, which is not actually composed of individual cells, united together by the cohesion of their walls, but of “a congeries of extremely thin laminæ or plates, variously connected together by fibres, and by other plates, which cross them in different directions, leaving cavities or

cells.”* This cellular texture, however, forms the essential material of the animal fabric generally, as the cellular tissue does of the vegetable. The important chemical difference between animal and vegetable organized tissue has already been noticed, viz., the presence of nitrogen in the one case and its absence in the other (45).

80. Perhaps, however, the most curious and interesting analogy between animal and vegetable organization is that which relates to the process of reproduction—which in some of the lowest tribes of animals approaches more nearly to identity with that of plants than in any other function. In several of the most minute of the Infusoria, in which nevertheless, small as they are, the patient investigation of Ehrenberg has discovered a series of stomachs, we meet with frequent examples of multiplication by the spontaneous division of the body of the parent into two or more parts. “Many species of *Monads*, for instance, which are naturally of a globular shape, exhibit at a certain period of their development a slight circular groove round the middle of their bodies, which by degrees becoming deeper, changes their form to that of an hour-glass; and the middle part becoming still more contracted, they present the appearance of two balls united by a mere point. The monads in this state are seen swimming irregularly in the fluid; as if animated by two different volitions; and apparently for the purpose of tearing asunder the last connecting fibres, darting through the thickest of the crowd of surrounding animalcules; and the moment this slender ligament is broken, each is seen moving away from

* Roget's “Anim. and Veget. Physiol.,” vol. i. p. 99.

the other and beginning its independent existence.”*
—Now although we have not in the vegetable world any instance of this voluntary division, yet, in the all but spontaneous action, the reproduction of plants by the division of their parts bears a strong analogy to it, and in the cases to be further mentioned, the resemblance is still stronger. The Hydra, or fresh water Polype, “is capable of indefinite multiplication by simple division: thus, if it be cut asunder transversely, the part containing a head soon supplies itself with a tail; and the detached tail soon shoots forth a new head, with a new set of tentacula. If any of the tentacula, or any portion of one of them be cut off, the mutilation is soon repaired; and if the whole animal be divided into a great number of pieces, each fragment acquires, in a short time, all the parts which are wanting to render it a complete individual.”† In this same animal (the Hydra) which is thus capable of being increased by what would in a plant be *slips* or *cuttings*, the natural method of propagation is analogous to that of many plants—such as the Duckweed: “At the earliest period at which the young of this animal is visible, it appears like a small tubercle, or bud, rising from the surface of the parent hydra; it grows in this situation, and remains attached for a considerable period; at first deriving its nourishment as well as receiving its mechanical support, from the parent . . . this mode of multiplication, in its first period, corresponds exactly with the production of a vegetable by buds; . . . although at a later stage, it differs from it in the complete detachment of the offspring from the parent.”‡ An instance of reproduction occurs in the sponge, which

* Roget, Anim. and Veget. Physiol., p. 583.

† Ib. p. 586.

‡ Ib. p. 590.

bears a near resemblance to the spontaneous fructification and bursting of the thecæ of many of the Cryptogamic plants. "The parts of the *Spongia panicea*, which are naturally transparent, contain at certain seasons a multitude of opaque yellow spots visible to the naked eye, and which, when examined by a microscope, are found to consist of groups of ova, or more properly *gemmules*, since we cannot discover that they are furnished with any envelop. In the course of a few months these *gemmules* enlarge in size, each assuming an oval or pear-like shape, and are then seen projecting from the sides of the internal canals of the parent, to which they adhere by their narrow extremities. In process of time, they become detached, one after the other; and are swept along by the currents of fluid, which are rapidly passing out of the larger orifices."* "When two *gemmules*, in the course of their spreading on the surface of a watch-glass, come into contact with each other, their clear margins unite without the least interruption,—in a few days we can detect no line of distinction between them, and they continue to grow as one animal. The same thing happens, according to the observations of Cavolini, to adult sponges, which on coming into mutual contact, grow together, and form an inseparable union. In this species of animal grafting we again find an analogy between the constitution of zoophytes and that of plants."†

81. With respect to the higher orders of vegetable life, the Phanerogamic, or flowering plants, the whole analogy in their method of increase with that of the larger part of the animal creation has been so long known, and so much insisted on, that it is superfluous to dwell on it. Enough has been said to show

* Roget, Anim. and Veget. Physiol., p. 156.

† Ib. p. 159.

how the same analogy holds good in the lower tribes; to multiply instances would swell these pages unduly and unnecessarily. The paper* recently read by Professor Forbes, at the meeting of the British Association at York, contains, as far as can be gathered from the abstract given of it in the Literary Gazette for October 19th, 1844, some very curious information bearing on this branch of the subject. From that abstract the analogy between "the formation of the parts of the flower out of transformed leaves," and a corresponding phenomenon in "one tribe at least of composite animals," seems to be manifested strongly in the cases on which Professor Forbes has grounded his novel views of the subject.

Connected also with this part of Vegetable Physiology is a paper of Dr. Martin Barry's, in the *Phil. Trans.* for 1842, Pt. 1;† in which he traces considerable analogy, not to say identity of form, between animal and vegetable fibre, and especially in one peculiar portion; the following extract will be found interesting: "It is known that vegetable tissue presents, in some parts, a feature which has heretofore seemed wanting, or nearly so, in that of animals,—the *spiral* form. I venture to believe that some appearances met with in my investigations, may go far towards supplying this deficiency." Dr. Barry has given plates of these appearances as they are found "in the nervous tissue, in muscle, in minute blood-vessels, and in the crystalline lens."

* "On the Mosychology of the Reproductive System of the Sutularian Zoophytes, and its analogy with the Reproductive System of the Flowering Plants." Prof. Forbes has a paper with a similar title in the 93d No. of the "Annals and Mag. of Nat. History" for Dec. 1844, and there are some curious observations on the same subject also contained in a paper by Mr. Couch, in the "Annals" for March, 1845.

† "On Fibre."

82. The power of vitality, so wonderfully conspicuous in the vegetable kingdom, which enables a seed to retain its vegetating power though dormant for many years, has a remarkable analogy with the revivification of some of the animalcules. "The *Rotifer redivivus*, or wheel animalcule, can live only in water, and is commonly found in that which has remained stagnant for some time in the gutters of houses. But it may be deprived of this fluid, and reduced to perfect dryness, so that all the functions of life shall be completely suspended, yet without the destruction of the vital principle; for this atom of dust, after remaining for years in a dry state, may be revived in a few minutes by being again supplied with water."* Other animalcules exhibit the same phenomenon; and the analogy is still further carried on by the fact well known to gardeners, that seeds which have been long kept, will vegetate more surely if soaked for some time in water before they are planted.

Every discovery in whatever science, seems more and more clearly to point to simplicity of Design and Unity of purpose in nature:—Where the same course and method will accomplish a similar end, a different one seems never to be adopted. All the researches of modern physical science, though they may place new objects and new substances within our view, tend to lessen, not enlarge the list of elementary bodies;—and all investigations into the organized parts of creation teach us to refer more and more to a few simple principles, modified, indeed, by the nature and requirements of each species, but all pointing to the same law, which appears to prevail throughout the universe, that nothing shall be unnecessarily complicated.

* Roget, Anim. and Veget. Phys., vol i. p. 62.

CONCLUSION.

THE great Linnæus, to whom the whole race of naturalists must ever feel largely indebted, was the first who struck out a method that has permanently continued, for the classification of plants. This system (of which the great outlines or classes are given in a tabular view in the Appendix (A), is grounded on the arrangements of the reproductive organs, and although it is in a great measure artificial, yet nevertheless it is so practically useful, that it has hitherto maintained its ground, and may probably continue to do so in great measure, although there are serious objections to it; chiefly because, being artificial, it does not lead a student to the knowledge of the properties, &c., of plants, but only enables him to identify and arrange them. A sense of the insufficiency of this method has led modern systematists to form a classification, called the Natural System, because founded on the natural affinities, characters, and habits of plants, which is much better calculated to afford a real insight into the Vegetable Kingdom. It would be impracticable within the limits of a work like the present, to give any detailed account of either system, especially of the natural arrangement, whose characters not being arbitrary, require, in order to be understood at all, a fullness of description inconsistent with brevity. Neither would such an account of botanical systems come within the twofold object of this little treatise, whose aim is to give the reader such an acquaintance with the wonderful structure of a large part of the world

around him, as may enhance his pleasure in contemplating it; and still more to draw his attention to that unity of purpose, palpable in the whole provision for the sustenance and comfort of all his fellow inhabitants on our earth. If this work and its predecessor on Organic Chemistry, have been read attentively, it will have been seen that water, the soil of the earth and the action of the air, furnish the materials from which plants obtain their nourishment; that without their intervention, the whole inferior animal race would have been destitute of food; and that man not only obtains a large portion of his sustenance immediately from them, but that they serve to elaborate such matter from the inorganic substances around them, as is then, and not till then, capable of affording him the sort of food he needs, whether derived directly from the plants themselves, or furnished by them indirectly through the animals they support, and on whom he depends for nutriment. Who can look on the principal constituents of plants, i. e., carbon, oxygen, hydrogen, and nitrogen, and contemplate their gradual transformation into vegetable albumen, and vegetable caseine,* or on any of the elementary forms of the nitrogenized compounds, so absolutely essential, directly or indirectly, to animal life, without feeling that nothing stands alone in this world, but that "the chain holds on, and where it ends, unknown." And even should it also occur to the mind, that the same process ceases not with us, but that these human bodies, thus marvelously made and nourished, are, even the organs by which the high functions of the brain are performed, material and perishable, and that "we feed ourselves to feed the worms," and, being *dust*,

* "Introduction to Organic Chemistry," p. 30.

return literally to that dust again ; let us not pause on the threshold of the argument, where despondency might await us, but go boldly on through the portal, and calmly consider what deduction we may draw, by the simple light of reason, from this undeniable truth. We see that everything around us here, when it has accomplished the end of its being, is not annihilated, but only transformed into some other state, in which it still continues to work out the will of Him who created it; every *material* thing *perfectly* fulfils its destined purpose; but Man has that within which assures him that here he neither *is* nor *does* all that the soul could be and perform, were it disencumbered of the body in its present grosser state. Has he not then the strongest reason to confide in Him who gave that body for good purposes here, that He will, at its dissolution, still make it subservient to his wise intentions, and after he separates it from its present union with the soul, will assuredly place his rational creature in a condition to be and to do all for which that creature was made? Man would then no longer be the exception to the rest of sentient beings; *their* wishes and desires are so arranged, that the means of their gratification are within their reach on earth; *we*, on the contrary, feel aspirations which never can be fully gratified here, and whose very existence foreshows a time when they *will* have their fruition. The moral consequence we may draw from this is almost too obvious to require notice. If we look forward to a state in which the body shall be so changed that its present enjoyments can exist no more, while those of the soul shall last for ever, how important is it that the Will, which triumphs over everything that is material in us, should be so regulated, that when that state arrives, it may not

long for those earthly pleasures which are gone to return no more, but may have already anticipated in hope the reality it shall then experience. The wise of old, though but dimly perceiving what is assured to us under the pledge and seal of God himself, could yet draw the right inference from those dim perceptions. When in the varied phases of the butterfly's frail life they saw prefigured their own future destiny, they could urge their disciples to purify the soul, and fit it for companionship with eternal Love. In the grain of wheat apparently perishing in the earth, but springing up in due season in a form "the same, and yet another," the Apostle found a similar correspondence with our lot: all can see the appropriateness and beauty of the comparison; may all likewise take to heart the Apostle's argument, and having this hope, may they continue "steadfast and immovable" in all that is good, knowing beyond all doubt or cavil, that their labor shall not be in vain.

APPENDIX A.

THE subject of local circulations has been so clearly handled by Professor Henslow, and is in itself so important a physiological fact, that no apology is necessary for transferring his account of the matter to these pages, which is here done in a somewhat abridged form.

• “In the ascent, descent, and general transfusion of the sap, we can trace the operation of physical causes modifying and controlling to a considerable extent, if, indeed, they do not originate and entirely regulate those movements. We have now to describe a more remarkable movement of the juices of some plants, which more decidedly evinces a vital action. This movement consists in a constant rotation of the fluid contained in their vesicles or tubes, and rendered apparent by the presence of minute globules of vegetable matter floating in it. The original discovery of this phenomenon was made about a century ago by Corti, who first observed it in the *Caulinia fragilis*, a maritime plant found on the shores of Italy. His observations appear to have been generally neglected until lately, when the re-discovery of the phenomenon in other plants has excited the attention of botanists We shall explain the phenomenon as it may be seen in the *Chara* with a lens of about the tenth of an inch focal distance, or even of less power.”

“In the genus *Nitella*” (a section of the *Chara*, and which is to be preferred to the true *Chara*, from the superior transparency of its tubes) “the stems

consist of single, jointed tubes. At the joints of the stem are whorls of branches, composed also of short tubes, in each of which the same rotation of the contained fluid may be seen. If an entire tube occupying the space between two joints, be placed under the microscope, its inner surface appears to be studded with minute green granules, arranged in lines, which wind in a spiral direction from one extremity to the other. They are studded over the whole of the interior, with the exception of two narrow spaces on opposite sides of the tube, forming two spiral lines from end to end. The globules of transparent gelatinous matter dispersed through the fluid are in constant motion, being directed by a current up one side of the tube, and back again by the other. The course of this current is regulated by the spiral arrangement of the granules, and it moves in opposite directions, on contrary sides of the clear spaces on the minor surface of the tube. The rotation continues in a detached portion, for several days; and if the tube is tied at intervals between the joints, the fluid between two ligaments still continues to circulate, even though the extremities of the tube should be cut away. The motion here described is precisely similar to what takes place in the tubes of Corallines, and must unquestionably be considered as the result of a vital action." Although the circulation in the laticiferous vessels is denied by many of the most distinguished physiologists, yet the subject is so curious, and so well worthy of farther investigation, that it is deemed advisable to add the account of it also in Prof. Henslow's words.

"It was in the year 1820, that a distinguished naturalist, M. Schultes, first announced his discovery of a peculiar movement in the juices of plants, which more nearly resembles the circulation of the blood

in animals than anything which had formerly been observed. . . . The liquid, whose movement is described, and which M. Schultes terms the 'latex,' is sometimes transparent and colorless, but in many cases opaque, and either milk-white, yellow, red, orange, or brown. . . . This liquid is considered to be the proper juice of the plant, secreted from the crude sap in the intercellular passages, and consequently analogous to the blood of animals, as was long since suggested by Grew; who further likened the lymphatic, or crude sap, to their chyle. It is contained in delicate transparent membranous tubes, which become cylindrical when isolated, but when pressed together in bundles, assume a polygonal shape. . . . The movement of the latex can be witnessed only in those parts which happen to be very transparent, and it has not been actually seen in many plants. The *Ficus elastica*, *Chelidonium majus*, and *Alisma plantago*, are the species upon which most of the observations hitherto recorded have been made. Distinct currents are observed traversing the vital vessels, and passing through the lateral connecting tubes or branches, into the principal channels. These currents follow no one determinate course, but are very inconstant in their direction, some proceeding up, and others down, some to the right and others to the left; the motion occasionally stopping suddenly, and then recommencing. . . . The effect does not seem to depend upon a contractile power of the tubes, because the latex flows chiefly or entirely from one end of a tube, even when it has an orifice open at both extremities. The appearance is especially analogous to the circulation of some of the lowest tribes of animals, as in the *Diplozoon paradoxum*, which may be divided into two parts, and the blood will con-

tinue to circulate for three or four hours in each. By a strong electric shock, the force by which the latex is propelled, is paralyzed, and its motion arrested." (Henslow's *Principles of Botany*, p. 207, et seq.)

B.

ANALYSIS OF THE LINNÆAN CLASSES.

FROM RALF'S "ANALYSIS OF THE BRITISH FLORA."

1	{	Neither stamens nor pistils	Cryptogamia (24.)
		Stamens and pistils	2.
2	{	Stamens and pistils in separate flowers	3.
		All or many of the flowers perfect	4.
3	{	Barren and fertile flowers on different plants	Diœcia (22.)
		Barren and fertile flowers on the same plants	Monœcia (21.)
4	{	Some flowers with pistils only, and a perianth unlike that of the united or of the barren stamens	Polygamia (23.)
		Flowers with both stamens and pistils, or with similar perianths	5.
5	{	Stamens situated upon the style	Gynandria (20.)
		Stamens not on the style	6.
6	{	Flowers compound; (anthers 5, united)	Syngenesia (19.)
		Flowers not compound	7.
7	{	Filaments united in one or more sets	8.
		Filaments not united	9.
8	{	Filaments united in one set	Monadelphia (16.)
		Filaments united in two sets	Diadelphia (17.)
		Filaments united in more than two sets	Polyadelphia (18.)
9	{	Stamens 16 or more	10.
		Stamens 15 or fewer	11.
10	{	Stamens inserted into the receptacle	Polyandria (13.)
		Stamens inserted into the calyx	Icosandria (12.)

11	{	Stamens 12 or more	Dodecandria (11.)
		Stamens 10	Decandria (10.)
		Stamens 9	Enneandria (9.)
		Stamens 8	Octandria (8.)
		Stamens 7	Heptandria (7.)
		Stamens 6 or fewer	12.
12	{	Stamens 6	13.
		Stamens 5	Pentandria (5.)
		Stamens 4 or fewer	14.
13	{	Four stamens longer; (petals 4, rarely wanting)	Tetradynamia (15.)
		Stamens equal (petals more or less than 4)	Hexandria (6.)
14	{	Stamens 4	15.
		Stamens 3 or fewer	16.
15	{	Two stamens longer	Didynamia (14.)
		Stamens equal	Tetrandria (4.)
16	{	Stamens 3	Triandria (3.)
		Stamens 2	Diandria (2.)
		Stamens 1	Monandria (1.)

The above form is given in preference to a mere enumeration of the Linnæan Classes as being more useful and instructive. It will at once be perceived that if it is wished to know what class any plant belongs to, we must in the first instance observe whether it has stamens or pistils; if it has neither, it is one of the Cryptogamia, and our point is ascertained at once. If it have stamens and pistils we are referred to No. 2, and, accordingly, as the stamens and pistils are, or are not, on the same flower, we are to turn to No. 3 or 4, and so on till we have completed our search. Such an analysis is of great practical utility. The number of each class in Linnæus' arrangement, is given at the end of each in a parenthesis.

C.

AT the end of a chapter on the longevity of trees, in which M. De Candolle fully shows his grounds for concluding their ages to be what he has stated, he gives the following table of some of the most remarkable in the world.

	<i>Years.</i>
“ Elm	335
Cheirostemon (a Mexican tree)	400 (about)
Ivy	450
Larch	576
Lime	1147—1076
Cypress	350 (about)
Oriental Plane	720 and more
Cranger	630
Cedar of Lebanon	800 (about)
Olive	700 (about)
Oak	1500—1080—810
Yew	1214—1458—2588—2880
Baobab	5150 (in 1757)
Taxodium (of Oaxaca)	4000 to 6000 (about).”

“The Baobab (*Adansonia digitata*) is the most celebrated example of extreme longevity that has yet been observed with precision. It bears in its native country a name which signifies *a thousand years*, and contrary to custom, this name is short of the truth.”*

The following notice respecting this species of tree has been kindly furnished by a friend. “Adanson’s own statement concerning the Baobab, and his reasonings upon it, amount to this. He saw, in one of the two Magdalen Islands, two Baobabs, bearing European names, some of which were very distinctly

* De Candolle, *Physiologie Végétale*, tom. ii. p. 1003.

of the date of the 16th and 15th centuries,* and others somewhat confusedly (*'assez confusément'*) of the 14th; years having effaced, or filled up the greater part of the characters. These were probably the same trees which Thevet mentions having seen in those islands, in his voyage to the Antarctic Seas in 1555, (in which, however, no notice is taken either of the size of the trees, or of inscriptions on them.) These characters were six inches at the utmost in length, and not so much as two feet in width, being about the eighth part of the circumference of the trunk, from which Adanson concluded that they had not been cut while the trees were young. Neglecting the date of the 14th century, and taking that of the 15th, which is very distinct, he holds it to be evident that, if these trees have been two centuries in gaining six feet in diameter, they would be at least eight in acquiring twenty-five feet. But experience teaches that trees grow rapidly at first, afterwards more slowly, and finally cease to increase in diameter, when the tree has attained the size usual to its species. Adanson knew from observation, that the Baobab in its first year, measured from an inch to an inch and a half in diameter; that at the end of ten years it reached a foot in diameter; and at the end of twenty, about a foot and a half. These data, he adds, are insufficient for any precise determination: he, therefore, limits himself to suspecting that the growth of the Baobab, which is very slow with relation to its monstrous size (of twenty-five feet *diameter*) must continue for several thousand years, and perhaps ascend to the time of

* It seems clear that Adanson, in speaking of the 14th, 15th, and 16th centuries, really means the 15th, 16th, and 17th, inasmuch as he in one place carefully reckons from the date of the 15th century to the year 1749, as a period of two centuries.

the deluge; so that we have good reason to believe that the Baobab is the most ancient of the living monuments which the terrestrial globe can furnish. These particulars are given in a '*Déscription d'un Arbre d'un nouveau genre, appelé Baobab, observé au Sénégal,*' published by Adanson in the *Mémoires de l'Académie des Sciences*, for 1761, where he also states the circumference of the tree as reaching to sixty-five feet, or even seventy-seven and a half feet, making its diameter somewhat less than twenty-five feet. In his '*Voyage au Sénégal,*' he speaks, p. 54-5, of having measured two trunks of sixty-five and sixty-three feet circumference; and again, p. 104, of two others measuring seventy-six and seventy-seven feet; but it does not appear that these were the trunks on which the names were cut.

"The only certain way of discovering the age of trees of temperate and northern climates is by cutting them down, and counting their annual layers; but even this method becomes uncertain with respect to the trees of tropical countries, in which the layers are frequently very indistinct, and in which they are also, in some instances, repeated several times in the year.

"With respect to the Baobab, if its age be doubtful, its size at least has not been exaggerated. M. Perottet states, in the '*Flore de Sénégambie,*' that Baobabs are frequently to be found measuring from seventy to ninety feet in circumference. He promises a memoir on their mode of growth, but the writer of this is not aware if he has yet published it.

"The subject of inscriptions in trees (originally cut through the bark, and having their woody portion covered up by successive annual layers), is a very curious one. It has been the subject of nu-

merous memoirs, of which a list is given in the Catalogue of Sir Joseph Banks' Library."

Although England has no trees whose usual size can compete with that of the gigantic Baobab above mentioned, some of her yews and oaks are as worthy of record, and approach more nearly to it in dimensions, than is perhaps generally known or remembered. Evelyn, after mentioning several giants of the forests, both of his own and foreign countries, says,

"To these I might add a yew tree in the churchyard of Crowhurst, in the county of Surrey, which I am told is ten yards in compass; but especially that superannuated yew tree now growing in Braburne churchyard, not far from Scott's Hall, in Kent; which being fifty-eight feet, eleven inches, in the circumference, will bear near twenty feet diameter, as it was measured first by myself imperfectly, and then more exactly for me, by order of the late Right Honorable Sir George Carteret, Vice Chamberlain to his Majesty, and late Treasurer of the Navy; not to mention the goodly planks, and other considerable pieces of squared and clear timber, which I observed to lie about it, that had been hewed and sawn out of some of the arms only, torn from it by impetuous winds. Such another monster, I am informed, is also to be seen in Sutton churchyard, near Winchester."* In a note, the Editor of the *Sylva* (Dr. A. Hunter) gives the following account of a most remarkable oak, actually rivaling the Baobab in girth,—it is accompanied by an engraving. "My ingenious friend, Mr. Marsham, informs me that there is now growing in Holt Forest, near Bentley, a vigorous and healthy oak, which at

* *Sylva*. Vol. ii. Book 3, Ch. 3, p. 195. Hunter's ed.

five feet from the ground, measures thirty-three feet, eight inches in girth; however, neither this, nor any of the oaks mentioned by Mr Evelyn, bear any proportion to one growing at Cowthorpe, near Wetherby, upon an estate belonging to the Right Hon. Lady Stourton. 'The annexed plate is taken from a drawing made upon the spot in the year 1776. The dimensions are almost incredible. Within three feet of the surface it measures sixteen yards in circumference, and close by the ground, twenty-six yards. Its height is about eighty feet, and its principal limb extends sixteen yards from the bole. Throughout the whole tree, the foliage is extremely thin, so that the anatomy of the ancient branches may be distinctly seen in the height of summer.'*

If we may descend from the lordly oak to so humble a plant as a radish, the reader may perhaps be amused by the following notice of an enormous specimen of this vegetable, also mentioned by Evelyn, in his "*Terra. A Philosophical Discourse of Earth, relating to the Culture and Improvement of it for Vegetation, and the Propagation of Plants, as it was presented to the Royal Society.*"—"Peter Hondius tells us (in his book entitled *Dapes inemptæ*) that by the sole application of sheep's dung he produced a radish root in his garden as big as half a man's middle, which being hung up for some time in a butcher's shop, people took for an hog." The date of this paper is Ap. 29, 1675. It is a curious mixture of valuable information with the crude speculations that formed much of the, so called, science of that day—yet giving evidence of the value of the new light that had been already thrown on the path of knowledge by directing the attention to experi-

* Ibid., p. 197.

mental research, of which it contains a record exhibiting much patient investigation. It is also an interesting document, being one of the very early communications to the Royal Society, during the Presidency of Lord Brouncker. A few further extracts from it may be entertaining, and if they induce us of the 19th century to smile at the strange notions which such men as Lord Bacon and John Evelyn could think worthy of notice, the smile will be anything rather than a sneer, and will be quickly followed by a feeling of gratitude to those great men, who, born in days of comparative ignorance, were nevertheless so far beyond the times in which they lived, that they could perceive and point out the very course which has obtained for science the enlarged boundary she now possesses: and to the Society which first made the cause of science a national question, and under whose auspices England has attained an eminence which all her sons must ardently pray she may never lose.

A passage near the commencement of the "*Discourse of Earth*," is so characteristic of the style of writing of the period, that it is worth extracting. After a modest disclaiming of his own powers, Evelyn goes on to say, "There are few here, I presume, who know not upon how innocent and humble a subject I have long since diverted my thoughts; and, therefore, I hope they will not be displeased, or think it unworthy of their patience, if from their more sublime and noble speculations (and which do often carry them to converse among the brighter orbs and heavenly bodies) they descend awhile, and fix their eyes upon the earth, which I make the present argument of my discourse. I had once indeed, pitched upon a subject of somewhat of a more brisk and lively nature; for what is there in nature

so sluggish and dull as earth? What more spiritual and active than vegetation, and what the earth produces? But this, as a province becoming a more steady hand and penetrating wit than mine to cultivate, (unless where it transitorily comes in my way to speak of salts and ferments,) I leave to those of this learned society, who have already given such admirable essays of what they will be more able to accomplish upon that useful and curious theme; and, therefore, I beg leave that I may confine myself to my more proper element, the earth, which though the lowest and most inferior of them all, yet is so subservient and necessary to vegetation, that without it, there could hardly be any such thing in nature." He then gives a long account of different strata of earths, &c., in which some of the phraseology sounds strangely to modern ears—for instance, "marsh-earth," is said to be "the most *churlish*," and marl, "of a cold, *sad* nature." The two following passages are among those which cannot be read without a smile, "If, upon excavating a pit, the mould you exhaust do more than fill it again, Virgil tell us 'tis a good augury; upon which Lauringbergius affirms, that at Welleberg, in Germany, where the mould lies so close, as it does not replenish the foss out of which it has been dug, the corn which is sown in that country soon degenerates into rye; and what is still more remarkable, that the rye sown in Thuringia (where the earth is less compacted) reverts, after three crops, to be wheat again."

"My Lord Bacon directs to the observation of the rainbow, where its extremity seems to rest, as pointing to a more roscid and fertile mould; but this, I conceive, may be very fallacious, it having two horns, or bases, which are ever opposite."

Among such strange ideas, which, however, bear

but a very trifling proportion to the bulk of practical information which was probably new and valuable to the agriculturist of those days, there is the dawning of a true knowledge of Vegetable Physiology. The indispensable importance of water, the probable influence of the atmosphere, both on the plants themselves, and on the soil, the strong suspicion at least, "that plants do more than obscurely respire, and exercise a kind of peristaltic motion," are among the indications of an approach to truth, and when we remember that about this time Grew was employed on the "*Anatomy of Plants*," we may fairly trace back to these days the beginning of the *Science*, properly so called, which is the subject of this little book; nor can better words be found with which to conclude it, than those of Evelyn, speaking of the "Groves and Woods"—"But I cease to expatiate farther on these wonders, that I may not anticipate the pleasures with which the serious contemplator on those stupendous works of Nature (or rather God of Nature) will find himself wrapt and transported, were his contemplations only applied to the production of a single tree."*

* Sylva, Book 4, p. 343.

THE END.

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ON THE
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It has been acknowledged for a considerable time, that our criminal laws require revision, and many changes have been made in them with a view to the more effectual suppression of crime, as well as to satisfy the more humane spirit which increasing civilization never fails to generate. Yet these amendments have been more of the nature of a patch on an old garment, or a lean-to against an old building, than what it was natural to wish for—namely, a taking away of useless parts, or a reconstruction of them on the plan of the original fabric.

Law, like other things, has its fundamental principles, and he who would construct or amend a code must first make himself well acquainted with those principles, otherwise he runs the risk of as signal a failure as would be experienced by the architect or mechanic who should form his plans without a due regard to the fundamental rules of his science: which are themselves derived from the great laws by which matter is regulated. The mechanic knows that the tendency of matter is to repose, and that if motion is to be communicated to it, friction, gravitation, the pressure of the atmosphere, and various other causes must be taken into account, and accurately calculated, ere he can judge of the exterior force required to overcome both the original *vis inertię* and the numerous interrupting causes. He does so, and if he

calculates well, he succeeds in producing the most beautiful results.

The legislator has to deal with a subject of a more difficult nature; he has not merely to study the laws of inert matter and to calculate accordingly: but a fresh element is introduced, whose tendency is not to repose, but action; and the well being of society depends on the giving a right direction to this restless tendency. Laws, it is true, have relation only to the actions which immediately affect the present state of things; but the actions which come under the jurisdiction of law, arise from deeper sources, and have relation frequently to more distant objects than law can take cognizance of. The legislator therefore must study the nature of man:—must investigate those deep sources of action; those ulterior objects which frequently set all legislation at defiance; and must make these impelling forces as much a part of his calculation as the mechanician would do the retarding power of friction, gravitation, &c. They are laws of a nature perfectly different, but they are nevertheless laws of each nature respectively; and cannot be disregarded without more than a *risk* of failure. He who should calculate the force of an organized being upon the same principles as that of a machine, would deceive himself:—he who calculates the actions of an intellectual being on the same principles as those of an animal will be equally deceived:—in each there is a fresh element, and if this be overlooked, the calculation is worth nothing. The regulations required for a nation of baboons would be very different from those required for a nation of human beings.

When complaining of, and seeking remedies for the increase of crime, it would be well if we asked ourselves whether, in our legislation, these conditions have been sufficiently attended to?—whether the element of man's intellectual nature has entered sufficiently into the calculation?—whether, in fact, our laws have not been more fitted to the baboon nation already alluded to, than to a set of beings acting from impulses which no law can destroy or even repress; and led forward by motives which on many occasions gain strength by opposition? The animal crouches beneath the scourge, and is tamed by

it;—man, feeling in himself a power which can set at nought bodily influences, defies pain, and counts himself ennobled by having borne it without flinching. This one fact sufficiently shows that criminal legislation is not the easy task which many suppose it to be. The greatest revolutions the world has ever seen, have been brought about by men who encountered, without hesitation, the utmost rigor of severe laws, not hoping an escape for themselves, but satisfied that their tortures and death were sowing the dragon's teeth from which armed men would spring to sweep away the power under whose influence they had suffered. The legislator must learn to know and to calculate this interior force, ere he can guess what will be the effect of his laws.

I go farther:—the mechanic acknowledges laws impressed on matter which it has received from a mightier Power than his own; and he does not attempt to contravene them:—he calculates rather on their unvarying force, and his results correspond to his expectations. Are we then to suppose that inert matter has laws, and that intellect has none?—or are we to imagine that the material world is regulated by a Power far beyond our own, and that the moral world is left to chance? This would be poor logic. On the contrary, as the mechanic cannot proceed without ascertaining the material laws of the Creator, so the legislator, ere he can give force to his regulations, must ascertain His moral laws. All creation must lead to some object, and if the social be at variance with the moral law, the irresistible tendencies of nature will sweep it away. The legislator, therefore, must be not only acquainted with the powers and impulses of the beings for whom he legislates, but he must also endeavour to penetrate the yet deeper arcana of the universe, and arrive at the *animus*, as it were, of the Creator: for so sure as there is a Creator, so sure also is it that there is some object in creation: and this is no barren abstract doctrine of schoolmen and divines, but a great fact which must enter into all our calculations as a principal element, and which will either strengthen or nullify our code, according as it is in accordance with, or contradiction to, this object.

CHAPTER I.

THEORY OF CRIMINAL LAW.

WHEN we enter on the consideration of a code of laws, three questions naturally arise in the mind: they embrace the whole subject, and the true answer to them forms the science of legislation.

1. By what right does man control his fellow man, and abridge a part of his natural liberty?
2. What is the object proposed by this control?
3. What are the means best adapted to the attainment of the object proposed?

In order to the due consideration of the first two questions, we shall have to dismiss from our minds any foregone conclusions drawn from actual practice, and to recur to the fundamental principles of all law, which are alike for all countries and all time. The modifications which circumstances call for, form the answer to the third, which, if duly given, *ought* to be the practical result of the previous inquiry. Had it always been so, we should not now be calling for reforms and alterations in our code; and although so brief an attempt to lay down the philosophy of law will probably be an imperfect one, still something will have been done if some arrangement be given to the subject, so as to make it assume the form of a science, rather than an empirical practice of applying a remedy to the evil as it arises, without inquiring what has caused it; and thus incurring the risk of increasing instead of remedying it.

I.

By what right does man control his fellow-man?

“The absolute rights of man,” says Blackstone, “considered as a free agent, endowed with discernment to

know good from evil . . . are usually summed up in one general appellation, and denominated, the natural liberty of mankind." What then gives one man or body of men the right to abridge this liberty? Blackstone goes on to say that man, "when he enters into society, gives up a part of his natural liberty as the price of so valuable a privilege." I am inclined, nevertheless, to think that this, though true in the main, is not the exact definition which we require, either of rights or of their limitation. For we shall find that this natural liberty never has existed, from the time that a child was born into the world, since its weakness and inexperience necessarily place it under the control of its parents; and what right can be natural which is not inherent from the first? We should laugh at any one who talked of the natural liberty of an infant, unable even to walk.

We must seek then for some other definition of right than this of mere liberty, and we shall probably find it by an inquiry into the state of this very infant. It is born by no choice of its own; then the Will by which it is constituted as it is, has some design in so constituting it: some aim and end of existence are assigned to it: for I am not here to argue the existence of a Creator; that has been done elsewhere.

If the being, be it what it may, have some end of existence assigned to it, then the accomplishment of that end is its natural right, and so far as liberty of action is needful to this end, it will form a part of the claim of natural right, but no farther. Man being an intellectual animal, the end of his existence can be attained only by the complete development of his nature in both its parts; and he who abridges him of any means by which this is to be effected, does him a wrong; but the parent who abridges the natural liberty of the child so far as to prevent him from maiming or destroying himself, does him no wrong, but the contrary: and this relation of parent and child being universal, and from the beginning, it is plain that unrestrained liberty is not the complete summing up of the natural rights of mankind. But the infant has the natural right of arriving at the due development of the two parts of his nature, corporeal and intellectual,

and from this other rights are derived: he has a right to food, to shelter, to protection from violence, to instruction. These, whilst helpless, it is the parent's duty to bestow, and these, when grown to an age that enables him to make his own claim, and seek his own perfection, he endeavors to obtain, because he feels them to be absolute conditions of animal and intellectual existence.

A right cannot be withheld without doing a wrong: if a man have by his industry provided himself with food and raiment, and another attempts by violence to deprive him of it; the first, possessing a natural right to these things, has also a natural right to resist the being dispossessed of them: if he be not strong enough himself, he seeks the aid of others to make the resistance effectual; and hence arises the first rude notion of social law, as we find it practised among simple tribes, in patriarchal times. Thus, when Lot and his property were carried away, his uncle Abraham armed his servants, and with the aid of three of his neighbors, pursued and rescued his nephew and his effects. War is only another form of this rude justice, continued to our day: it is the repelling violence by violence where the party cannot be made to submit to law.

The right then of abridging the liberty of our fellow men by the establishment of social law, springs out of the very constitution of our nature, which, having a certain end to accomplish, has the right to fulfill it, and consequently to resist any attempt to impede this fulfillment. Man's wants are the same; all need food, shelter, &c.; but the physical strength of the different members of the great human family is very unequal: numbers therefore unite to effect what, singly, would be beyond their power; and some rude form of legal jurisdiction is at last devised to remedy the state of warfare which necessarily arises out of individual violence and individual self-defence.

The form of parental rule is that which man is earliest and best acquainted with, and thus in early times the transition from patriarch to prince was easy. In Asia that form still exists, and the magistrate for the most part is guided by no law save that which is supposed to exist in the heart of every man: but in more northern countries,

where the greater difficulties of soil and climate kept men more dependent on each other for assistance, and consequently in nearer neighborhood to each other, the fathers or elders of the tribe formed a kind of council, and their decisions were held binding on the whole, or if resisted by one or two, were enforced by the rest: and this for the most part was the origin of our unwritten or common law: since among the German nations, from whom we are derived, though there might be one chief for war, who performed the functions more of a general than a king, his decisions as to right were never given merely on his own authority, but were made valid by the consent of his council of old men. And such a decision was likely to be satisfactory where the people were simple, and the relations of society very little complicated; for it was that of men of competent experience and integrity, who were past the age of passion, and not personally interested in the sentence; so that, on the whole, the German tribes, if we take the testimony of Tacitus, were not ill-ruled. This state of things, however, necessarily ceases along with the simple state of society to which it belongs, and then the people usually call for a written code which may meet their new exigencies, and be less liable to doubt than mere verbal decisions handed down by tradition: and thus arises statute law.

II.

What is the object proposed by this control?

If the origin of the right to control our fellows has been truly stated, the object of this control will not be difficult to discover. Society generally, in order to avoid petty wars, takes on itself the protection of those who submit themselves to its ordinances, and these ordinances are therefore directed to the securing those rights which man is justified in defending, because they are indispensable conditions of the development and perfection of his nature. And this right to the development and perfection of his nature is coeval with his very creation: for all things made by an intelligent Will are made with an object, and that object is not accomplished till the thing

made is perfect of its kind. Man therefore may justly claim this perfection as his first great right, and his double nature calls for the means of a double development. The rights derived from this first and great right therefore are

1. Security in life and limb.
2. Security of possessions requisite to his natural wants.
3. Instruction in childhood and freedom in manhood, sufficient for the development of the rational mind.

These are the securities which ought to be afforded by the control of social law, and it has no other legitimate object than the affording these securities; for man does not submit himself to control merely to please others, but for the sake of being uninterrupted in the pursuit of the great aims of his existence.

The security of person and property against violence,—for no violation of the right of free thought can take place whilst these are secure,—being the great object of social law, it follows that it has no right to inflict penalties for any other purpose than to secure those rights; and its enactments therefore must have in view the prevention rather than the punishment of crime. For it is no benefit to the injured man that he who has injured him should suffer in his person for what he has done, but it is a benefit both to him and to society that the criminal shall be prevented from repeating his offence, and that others shall by his example be deterred from attempting it. On this point Blackstone is very explicit. “The *end* or final cause of human punishments,” says he, “is not to be considered in the light of an atonement or expiation for the crime committed . . . but as a precaution against future offences of the same kind,”* and again he observes that the due measure of punishments will be merely “such as appear best calculated to answer the end of precaution against future offences.” And this principle is recognized in practice to a certain degree, for since it is evident that a young child is incapable of being deterred from ill-doing by the dread of legal penalties, owing to his inexperience, which prevents him from well knowing that there are

* Blackstone, Comm., book iv. c. 1.

any such, it is not until an infant attains the age of seven years that he is by our English law held at all answerable for his actions to society, and if he commit a felony he is not punishable by any criminal prosecution whatever.*

It appears therefore that both rational philosophy and English law equally disclaim the idea of *vengeance* in any procedure of criminal, or, as I have called it, social law; and it may be farther stated that where the crime affects only the individual himself, however deep its dye, social law has no concern with it. The correction of the criminal, in this case, is cared for by another and higher judg-

* But though the principle be thus far acknowledged by English law, it has been strangely confused by the legal practice with regard to the next seven years; for then it is held, that if the attendant circumstances prove that the child had a guilty knowledge that he was doing wrong, he is liable to the penalty of the law; and there is a case in the books of a child between the age of eight and nine years, who was tried and hanged for the crime of arson, committed with feelings of revenge, and executed, it is said, with considerable craft and cunning. But here it is observable that if the object of law be prevention of, not vengeance for crime, the capital punishment of one precocious child which could have no probable beneficial influence on other children, is not justifiable; though some minor penalty, which tended to the reformation of the offender himself, might be not only justifiable but desirable. The want of any acknowledged general principle on this subject, seems to have been felt in another case, which occurred in the year 1748, of a boy aged ten years, who murdered a little girl of five years old, by, according to his own confession, taking her out of bed, and carrying her to some distance, where he killed her with a large knife he had found about the house, cutting and mangling the body in a most barbarous manner. He then buried it in a dung heap, placed the straw which was stained with blood under the body, and covered it up with what was clean. The boy was convicted at the assizes; and a report of the evidence given was submitted to the judges, who unanimously agreed that so many circumstances in the report were undoubtedly tokens of what Chief Justice Hale calls a "mischievous discretion," that the boy was certainly a proper subject for capital punishment. However, notwithstanding this opinion, the boy was reprieved from time to time, and was finally in 1757 pardoned, upon condition of his entering immediately into the sea service.—Vide *Russell on Crimes*, book i. chap. 1.

ment, from whose penalties there is no escape, for they arise from the very constitution of his nature: but social law has only one proper object, i. e., the protection of individuals from a deprivation of their rights by the violence of others. Thus a man may give himself up to drunkenness, but if he stay in his own house and cause no annoyance to others, social law takes no cognizance of his misdoings, though he suffers largely the penalties which the law of nature is wont to inflict on its violators, i. e., loss of health, of senses, and even of life itself. Neither is a man amenable to legal punishment for corrupting the moral character of another person, if the person thus seduced into wrong doing be a willing agent; unless indeed the immorality be of a nature to injure the person or property of others, in which case the instigator suffers the penalty of an accessory to the crime, not of a seducer of innocence: for the law is only framed to prevent men from being *involuntarily* deprived of any natural right, since law, which is the expression of social man's aggregate power, can only represent some right possessed by the individuals who form that aggregate; and we have already seen that the rights which man, for the sake of peace, has vested in the magistrate, are those of self-preservation, and defence from violence: for if any case occur where the aid of the magistrate cannot be called in with sufficient promptitude, then the man resumes his natural right of self-defence, and may, without crime, repel violence by violence.*

* Thus, generally speaking, no provocation, however great, will justify the killing of another, for if the latter have committed an offence, he is amenable to society, to whom the other party is taken to have implicitly relinquished the power of judgment and punishment. But if there be not time to call in the assistance of the law, then the killing is justifiable. Thus if a person attempt to rob or murder another in the highway or in a dwelling house, or attempt to enter a house burglariously by night and be killed in the attempt, the slayer will be acquitted and discharged, and not only the party whose person or property is thus attacked, but his servants and other members of his family, and even strangers who are present at the time are equally justified in killing the assailant. So a man in defence of his house

The above-mentioned principle, that the corrupting the morals of another is not an offence amenable to social law, is especially recognized in our English law respecting the seduction of females: for though a man may thus plunge a woman into the most hopeless misery, and thus commit an enormous moral crime; yet inasmuch as she was a consenting party, social law affords her no remedy for the wrong which it was at her option to avoid, though it inflicts the severest penalty on any who shall dare to effect the wrong by violence. And though the father be allowed in some cases to sue for a remuneration of his pecuniary loss, that is not upon the ground of the sorrow and shame brought into his family by the act of the seducer, but on account of his being deprived thereby of the services of his daughter; to which he is considered to have a legal right.* And though occasionally the consideration of the moral turpitude of the offence may influence the feelings of juries so far as to enhance the damages awarded, yet in fact, this stretch of power in the jury is a deviation from the principles on which social law is founded. And it will be evident on consideration that this limitation is grounded on the immutable principles of morality: for he who abstains from crime *merely* on account of his fear of its ill consequences to himself on detection, is not a virtuous, but a selfish man; and therefore it is useless to attach penalties to moral transgressions as such. The motive, and that alone, constitutes real goodness; and the man will be equally base whether he indulge his passions, or restrain them, solely under the

is justified in killing any one who seeks to dispossess him of it. But if the crime sought to be committed against him be of a less heinous nature than those above-mentioned, as, if his pocket were picked, or his hen-roost about to be robbed, he would not be justified in killing the thief. Wherever the emergency is not so great as to prevent recourse being had to the law, the administering justice by a man's own hand becomes itself an offence.

* If no act of service can be proved, or if the daughter be at the time in the service of another, the father has no remedy whatever. Thus when the crime usually is of the worst kind,—that of the master seducing an apprentice, the common law of England affords no remedy.

influence of fear. The hope of impunity is all that would be needed to make such a man a villain. Legal penalties, therefore, are of no farther avail than as they may tend to defend the worthy from the fraud or violence of the bad: they are useless towards the cultivation of moral worth.

Theoretically, therefore, as well as practically, it is evident that social and moral law must be founded on different principles.* but though virtue cannot be enforced by statute, it is of importance that the enactments of legislators should never be in opposition to that law which is written in man's heart by a yet Greater Legislator: for should this be the case, it will in the first place be inefficient; and next, it will become so odious as probably to involve the overthrow of the government, as well as the contempt of the law. The rules of jurisprudence, therefore, must be in some degree limited, though not altogether guided, by those other and higher rules which no human law can supersede. And in proof of this we shall find,—on tracing the history of those laws which have been most daringly contemned,—that they have either offended against some principle or feeling which man's better part holds sacred; or they have been matters of conventional crime only.†

No penalties have been more severe than those attached to the crime of high treason, yet their savageness has never prevented wise and honorable and amiable men from encountering them: so many indeed of the ornaments of their age and country have perished thus, that were a list of their names to be here given, it would seem rather a selection of the most worthy than an enumeration of criminals. And why is this? Because whilst a government secures men in the enjoyment of their rights, none are tempted to rebel; but if it become corrupt or oppressive, the best are the first to be shocked

* So different, that in social law it is the *intent* to do an act, not the motive on which it is done, which forms the crime. In the moral law the very reverse is the rule.

† As in the resistance to the payment of turnpike tolls which gave rise to the Rebecca riots in Wales.

at it, and then it is the part of a disinterested and high-minded man to disregard personal dangers, and throw himself into the breach to win safety and happiness for his country, even at the price of his own life. Treason, therefore, has never been held a dishonoring crime, and its penalties, severe as they are, have been set at nought. The motive, which was felt to be a noble one, took away the odium of a breach of the law.

As severe as, or even more so than the laws against high treason, were those against heresy, and they too were met by a spirit of even more determined resistance: a resistance which, though most generally passive, was so persevering, that finally it vanquished opposition; and these enactments have been discontinued. It was wise to do so, for the man who thinks he has discovered the truth, feels it to be a duty to his God and his fellow-creatures to make it known, and against such a feeling penal statutes are unavailing. From the blood of one martyr twenty spring up. It is evident, therefore, that the moment that social law attempts what is beyond its province, the feelings of mankind rebel against it, and it becomes wholly nugatory. This should be kept in mind in all legal enactments, for it effectually marks the limits within which they ought to be confined.

To sum up in brief this part of the subject, it appears

1. That all existing beings, having some aim and end of existence, have a right to the means for the due perfecting of their nature, so as to accomplish that end.

2. That they have consequently an inherent right to defend themselves against any violence which prevents this; and, if weak themselves, they may, and must seek the aid of others in order to this defence.

3. That to put an end to the warfare thus engendered, which was an evil to all, law was resorted to, and to it was delegated the right of repressing violence, so as to render individual self-defence in great measure needless.

4. That social law therefore directs its enactments towards the securing those under its jurisdiction from acts of violence which may deprive them of the means or the liberty to pursue the ends of their existence. It is consequently preventive, not vindictive.

5. That the moral law, being immutable and unceasing, and enforced by penalties peculiarly its own, inflicted with unerring certainty, even if undetected by man, disdains the support of social law; but social law cannot stand without the aid of the moral law, and if, by unwise legislation, they are ever placed in opposition, social law will be inefficient.

If these principles be acknowledged, and it is not easy to avoid acknowledging them, it remains now that we examine the code of criminal jurisprudence by their aid; and if we do not find its provisions in accordance with them, to point out how they might be made so; and this brings us to the third question.

III.

What are the means best adapted to the attainment of the object proposed?

In the earliest period of legislation there was an endeavor to accomplish two objects in all criminal procedure: *i. e.*, compensation to the sufferer, and punishment to the offender. But, in the very nature of things, the worst injuries are those which admit of no compensation; and then among rude nations arose the idea of the compensation of revenge, and the law inflicted on the perpetrator a penalty of the nature of the violence he had committed. Thus in the very earliest period of law, its true object, prevention of crime, was frequently, if not wholly lost sight of, and a vindictive pursuit of the criminal was encouraged. This vitiation of the first principles of law by substituting revenge for self-defence, has never been entirely effaced from any code; and still, even where the law does not require it, we find sentences frequently influenced by this false conception of the object of criminal jurisprudence, and proportioned rather to the extent of the damage done, than to the nature of the crime attempted.

When the impossibility of compensation to the sufferer became evident, the next attempt was to prevent crime by the severity of punishment; but in proportion as the penalty is severe, the cunning used to evade it is quick-

ened, and the disinclination to prosecute or to convict increased; and if the art of the criminal and other chances should arrive at the point of making the chances of punishment less than those of gain, the penalty loses its terrors from its uncertainty. Capital punishments thus became ineffective, and during the latter end of the last and the progress of the present century, legislators, finding that laws of such severity were both shocking to humanity, and ineffectual in repressing crime, have in different countries devised various expedients as substitutes for the punishment of death.

I. Imprisonment,

II. Forced labor,

III. Deportation to distant colonies,

have been adopted under different codes; but all these expedients are open to serious objections, and still crime increases.

Before we proceed farther, it may be well to take a brief survey of these methods of punishment, and see how far they are adapted to the end which should be proposed in all legal penalties.

I. Imprisonment. This is varied in its forms, and may be subdivided into

1. Simple imprisonment,

2. Imprisonment with hard labor,

3. Imprisonment with a prohibition of communication by speech with other convicts,

4. Solitary confinement.

1. Simple imprisonment, which, till lately, was the only kind of imprisonment made use of in England. In this case the convict, be his offence what it may, falls at once into company with persons of the worst description, for a crowded jail will not allow of classification; and the child committed for some trifling offence, and the hardened thief, or receiver of stolen goods, meet in the yards of Newgate as if the young offender were absolutely sent there in order to be instructed in crime by those who have passed through all its grades,* and this is the first evil at-

* "At one time, early in 1830," says Mr. E. G. Wakefield, in a work I shall have occasion to quote again, "there were half

tending it as regards the young: but even if the convict be not young,—even if he be enough advanced in crime to run no hazard of farther contamination,—still imprisonment merely is useless, unless as a preventive measure, namely, in so far as by shutting the man up you prevent him from pursuing his guilty course during the time he is so confined; for when the term of his confinement is over he returns to the same companions and the same temptations; his body is less fit for exertion, his character is blasted, and his chance of obtaining an honest livelihood decreased by both these circumstances. He is set free in the midst of a dense population, where even the honest can scarcely obtain employment; and no course seems open to him but that from which he has been snatched for a time. What wonder that he returns to it? Observing the inefficiency of this plan, our English legislators have now generally changed it into

— 2. Imprisonment with hard labor. This is, of course, more irksome to the thief, and therefore may be supposed to deter from crime in a certain degree; but beyond this there is no benefit attending it. The chance of corruption by ill company is the same; the tread mill is an enervating kind of labor which does not prepare a man for working cheerfully when he leaves the prison; and all

a dozen boys in the school yard of Newgate; and during their confinement a man who had not been suspected before, was convicted of receiving stolen goods. This man happened to be placed in the yard next that of the school; and I heard many conversations between him and the boys; and afterwards, when he left the prison, frequently questioned the boys about him. Altogether I learned that for several years past he had been in the constant habit of visiting a coffee shop attached to a boy-thieves lodging house . . . and suggesting to them all sorts of robberies, the plan of which it was his business to concoct. My attention was first directed to him by seeing him give money to the boys; and I soon found that these presents were bribes for their silence. He passed for a religious man with the keeper and chaplain; always attended chapel with an air of great devotion, and generally snatched up a Bible when any officer of the prison was likely to observe him.”—*Wakefield's Facts connected with the punishment of Death*, p. 26. In this instance the tempter had full scope for his seductions *in prison* as well as when at large.

the difficulties which a discharged convict must necessarily have to encounter fall on him with the same weight. These considerations have led to a farther change, and

3. Imprisonment with a prohibition of communication by speech with other convicts, called "The Silent System," has been adopted in the United States of America, and lately in the Model Prison of Pentonville. Here, corruption from the society of other convicts is entirely precluded, and the prisoners receive instruction calculated to enable them to maintain themselves by honest industry when they leave the prison. This is a great improvement on the old system; but this too is not free from weighty objections: for man has been placed by his Creator in a varied scene, calculated to develop all the faculties and capacities of his nature, and the very description and regularity of such a life deprive him of a part of the better discipline appointed for him by his Maker. The *sight* of his fellow-creatures, indeed, is not denied him, but he cannot hold the intercourse which gives man a greater interest in others than himself. The man condemned to silence for a year or two necessarily becomes a selfish man: what is the grief or pain of another to him? He sees it not,—he hears it not,—he may guess indeed that it is felt, but few of us voluntarily contemplate suffering, and the silent man will soon restrict his thoughts to his own affairs merely: the regularity of the employment, and the certainty of food and raiment, leave the mind but small exercise, till at last the pains, or impulses, or appetites of the body become the predominant objects of contemplation, and all the better motives which should lead to better actions, are rather weakened than strengthened by this mechanical sort of life; and the remark made upon monasteries, probably with great truth, that the absence of external communications, and the sameness of the life then led, give the bodily appetites a disproportionate power over the recluse who has nothing to draw his mind away from them, will be in great measure applicable to this system also. It is in the activity of constant and varied occupation that the voice of the animal nature is unheard, and the spiritual has the best chance of recovering its rights; and it is by the colli-

sion with other minds, not by the unvarying return upon our own, that this better part of man acquires power to control the animal propensities and to take that place in creation which the human race was originally destined to fill.

4. Solitary confinement. This is open to all the objections which attend the silent system; but it has also many peculiar to itself. It has been tried in other countries to a much greater extent than it ever was in England, and therefore "its working," as it is called, is well known. None are now ignorant that if it be prolonged, both health and sense fail under the terrible infliction, but it is liable to a still farther, and very grave objection: for though in itself so pregnant with evil, it is not terrible in perspective. Every one has been alone for a few hours, or a day or two perhaps, and he thinks nothing of it: he will be fed and clothed without labor or pains on his part; what cares he for being a little dull? for this is all that he anticipates from solitary confinement. Thus it does not operate to deter from crime by the dread it inspires, and the man probably incurs it with reckless hardihood; it leaves him a maniac or an idiot!

II. Forced labor. This too has been adopted more in other countries than in England: but this again, like solitary confinement, does not *seem* frightful, whatever it may be in fact. Labor is no evil to the working man;—the chains to the ankles do not *appear* to be so great an evil as they really are;—and besides all this, it is an unequal punishment; for the shame of being thus exhibited to the public is nothing to the hardened villain, while it is heart-breaking to the more sensitive offender. Reform of the individual under such circumstances is hopeless: the only safety to society therefore consists in putting on the chains for life.

III. Transportation to distant colonies, which has been mainly adopted in England as a minor punishment, is hardly less open to animadversion; for first, during the very long voyage to Australia, the part of the world which has been selected for this purpose, the impossibility of classification affords ample room for the more hardened to finish the work of corruption in those minds where any

good remains; and next, the punishment itself is by circumstance rendered exceedingly unequal both in its effects on the criminal, and its influence on the minds of others in the way of deterring from crime. For a long time the only object of this kind of punishment appeared to be that of putting offenders against the laws out of sight: they were a defect in the body politic which was to be hidden, and what their condition might be when removed, or what might be the state of society where the main population consisted of such persons, was little considered. Within a short time, however, there has been a considerable amendment in this respect, and Lord Stanley's order, whereby convicts are classified, so as to give them a hope of obtaining benefits by good behavior, has done something towards the introduction of a better system.*

Still, notwithstanding these attempts at amendment, the system of English criminal law is not founded on any general principles which can enable it to work usefully as a whole; in proof of which we have only to consult the credited returns of trials and convictions. Crime has increased in a quintuple ratio as compared with the population, for it appears from official reports that during the four years ending Dec. 31st, 1842, the population had increased only four and a half per cent., whilst crime, as compared with the average of the four previous years, had increased 24·7 per cent., thus giving a clear increase of 20 per cent.

As a system which has existed long is usually reviewed with a degree of reverential affection by those who have grown up under it, I shall endeavor in the two following sections,

1. To show the practical working of the present system of criminal law.

2. To give a sketch of such an amendment of it as may render it conformable to the great principles of all social law.

* Vide Appendix, where the order is set out.

CHAPTER II.

PRACTICAL WORKING OF THE PRESENT SYSTEM.

OF the above-mentioned three classes of punishment, only two are usual in England, for confinement in the hulks is generally only preparatory to transportation: these two are

1. Imprisonment with or without hard labor,
2. Deportation to distant colonies.

The first is allotted to all minor offences, and to some even of a more heinous character. For a first or small offence the imprisonment is usually of short duration, just enough to remove the dread which was felt in contemplating it from a distance, and to introduce the prisoner to able instructors in the arts of depredation. The following passage from the work already quoted offers, it is to be feared, but too true a picture of the evils attendant on the present plan of imprisonment for small offences. "Newgate itself," says the writer, "is the great nursery of capital crime;" but "London abounds with smaller nurseries of petty offences. . . I had the opportunity of strictly examining more than a hundred thieves between eight and fourteen years, as to the immediate cause of their becoming thieves, and in nineteen cases out of twenty it appeared that the boy had not committed his first crime spontaneously, but had been persuaded to commence the career of thieving by persons whose business it is to practise this kind of seduction. The most numerous class of such seducers consists of experienced thieves, both men and boys, who look out for boys not criminal, to whom they represent the life of a thief as abounding in pleasure. The object of these representations is, to obtain instruments with which experienced thieves may commit robberies with less danger to themselves." The writer goes on to describe the nature of the

places where boys are trained for such purposes, and adds, "Let twenty boys selected by the Newgate schoolmaster be from time to time discharged from prison, and every one of them shall straight proceed to one of these pest houses, shall leave it with money in his pocket, and, if watched, shall be seen to pursue the sort of career which I have described. I know the fact to be, that the greater number of the smallest boys discharged from Newgate for want of prosecution or evidence, or after undergoing a sentence of whipping, do instantly proceed to a place of this description, as to their home, and at one time I knew the names and addresses of more than twenty persons who lived by this villainous trade."*

In confirmation of this statement it may be added, that of the 3625 convicts sent on board the hulks, in the year ending Dec. 31, 1841, only 1451 were not known to have been in prison before. The numbers stand thus:—†

Not known to have been in prison before	-	1451
In prison before	- - - - -	487
Previous conviction	- - - - -	1625
Been in Penitentiary	- - - - -	10
Transported before	- - - - -	52
		3625

Of these there were

Under 10 years of age	- - -	3	} 1174
10 to 15	- - -	213	
15 to 20	- - -	958	
20 to 30	- - -	1612	
Above 30	- - -	839	

Thus it appears that very nearly two-thirds of the whole number were persons who had undergone a training in crime; and that of the above stated gross number, 1174 were under twenty years of age. In all likelihood, therefore, nearly half the number of those under twenty

* Facts relating to the Punishment of Death, by E. G. Wakefield, Esq., p. 16—23.

† Vide Capper's Reports on Convict Establishments, 1842, page 10.

had already been in prison or convicted one or more times. A more fearful testimony as to the worse than inefficacy of the present system could hardly be given.

It is a fact so well known that I need not here give proof of it, that the greater part of those who incur the penalties of the law are from the poorer classes; we cannot therefore avoid the conclusion that poverty and ignorance are the chief predisposing causes of crime; but poverty can never be entirely removed, and it is to be doubted whether we have yet adopted efficient means for remedying the mischiefs of ignorance. It cannot be too often repeated, that reading, writing, and a slight tincture of arithmetic, with the repetition of some questions and answers learned by rote, do not constitute education. The school may teach these; but the actual education—namely, the formation of habits of thought—remains in the hands of parents, or companions, and, as the world is at present constituted, is in great measure the result of circumstances. The *mode of thinking* of the people has not yet been cared for by the legislature: and the apparent acquirements of children in schools as they are at present managed, serve only to blind the eyes of those who endeavor to ascertain the mental state of the poor; for too frequently under this seeming quickness we shall on inquiry find an ignorance which would surprise those not accustomed to mix with the lower classes. I have within these few years visited workhouse schools, where a regular system of education is supposed to be carried on; but I have universally found that it consisted of mechanical instruction only; the *mind* was not cultivated, and it was a rare thing if any child could go a word beyond the mere formula which he had committed to memory. I have examined children from national free schools, and with deep regret have found myself obliged to come to the same conclusion. It is not therefore by this mechanical education that we can hope to counteract the incitements to crime presented in so many ways to the poor man.

There has been so much party spirit excited by the Act for the amendment of the Poor Law, that I come to this subject with regret, yet in consideration of the increase

of crime during a period of considerable duration, balanced only by a decrease during the last two years, which is quite insignificant when compared to the whole mass,—it is not possible entirely to pass over so large an element in the condition of the poor,* and though I am by no means inclined to assert that robbery is usually attempted in order to relieve want, for I believe the experience of all who have watched the state of the poorer classes will contradict this, yet I believe it to be generally the consequence of the state of mind which want engenders, and to this the mode of administering relief of late years has largely contributed. The poor man has a right to this relief given him by law; but the same law which confirms his right, requires that he shall be put to every sort of inconvenience in endeavoring to obtain it. He must walk long distances, or if the husband be ill, the wife must do so to the neglect of all her home duties: medical advice, when obtained at the cost of walking fourteen to fifteen miles, often comes too late:† or if the

* The following is the table officially given of the criminal commitments during eight consecutive years :

1836	—	20,984
1837	—	23,612
1838	—	23,094
1839	—	24,443
1840	—	27,187
1841	—	27,760
1842	—	31,309
1843	—	29,591

To which may be added a decrease of ten per cent. in the committals during the year ending Dec. 31, 1844, upon a comparison with those of the preceding year. The new poor-law came into operation 14th Aug., 1834. In that year the proportion of crime to population in England and Wales was 1 in 619, in 1843 it was 1 in 537!

† It is a fact within my own knowledge that a poor man having been taken ill with inflammation of the lungs, the attendance of the medical practitioner could not be obtained in less than 48 hours. By that time the disease had made too much progress for medical aid to be of any avail, and the man died almost immediately after.

sick man be removed to the workhouse, the kindly attention of wife and children is denied, and mental is added to bodily irritation, sometimes with fatal effect. If the removal to the workhouse be the consequence of want of work, the parents and the children, the husband and wife are separated; low diet is added to imprisonment,—for whatever name be given to it, such is the confinement in the workhouse, *de facto*,—and the man, wounded in mind and lowered in constitution, leaves the asylum for want, offered by the public, a far worse member of society than when he entered it.

It is in vain that political economists determine to treat of man as of an animal only;—if he *could* be reduced into that state, the world would need that a new race should be created to assume dominion over the most cunning and ferocious of all animals; but by the rule already laid down, in our legislation we must consider him in his double capacity; and those very domestic ties which he finds so rudely severed by the law,—that very feeling of natural justice which teaches him that sickness or lack of employment is no crime,—are the safeguards of the well being of society, and were implanted in man's heart by that Greater Legislator whose decrees we can never break without suffering the penalty which HE has attached to their breach, and which is never remitted. Nine years have now passed since the experiment was made, a clear increase of forty per cent. in the number of crimes committed has coincided with,—I will not say, been caused by it;—but nevertheless the character of the crimes perpetrated seems to tell of such a kind of demoralization as the philosopher would have expected from such a law. The man of the workhouse is sinking into the sensual ferocious animal.

With all these causes of crime at work, can we expect that an imprisonment of six months will have any effect in deterring from crime? The man who is guilty of nothing but his poverty, suffers six months' imprisonment during the winter if he cannot obtain employment, or happens to be ill: and his diet in the jail—(and when the finer human affections and motives are crushed this becomes a consideration) is better. Thus a man who has

once tried the workhouse, will probably the next time prefer the jail, and will commit some trifling theft or offence in order that he may obtain admission there for the sake of a maintenance: but he comes out instructed in robbery as a trade; and thus the law has arranged a set of grades for the perfection of crime; the workhouse first, the jail next, then a penal colony. What the working of this second part of the system is I shall now endeavor to show.

2. Deportation to a distant colony is the penalty of the greater offences, (with the two exceptions of murder and high treason,) and of the repetition of smaller ones, since a criminal who has been frequently convicted of larceny, is usually sentenced to transportation for a term of years at last. This punishment which from its very nature, must fall with very unequal weight on different kinds of offenders, is indiscriminately inflicted on men of all ranks and all characters. Let us consider its operation. In the case of forgery, the law has generally to deal with a man who has displayed great ingenuity in accomplishing, and deriving a profit from his fraud, and this ingenuity has been exercised in robbing his fellow-creatures of their property with comparative safety to himself. He is sentenced to transportation for life. He enters a new colony where talent is sure of making its way; his fertile invention is soon at work to ameliorate his condition, and ere many years are over he is in the possession of property and is a person looked up to in the country which is become a new home to him. There is little to deter from crime in such a prospect.

On the other hand turn to the rick burner of Suffolk or Norfolk. A laborer whom neither his parents nor society has taught the simplest rudiments of knowledge, but whose body is vigorous and capable of labor, asks for work and can get none, or if any, at wages insufficient to feed and clothe himself and his family. He is starving in the midst of surrounding plenty; the squire of his parish is living in affluence; in the farmer's yard are goodly corn stacks; and reasoning in a dull illogical way he connects his own wretchedness with the abundance of those whom he looks to for employment and protection, or perhaps in

his suffering he considers it as caused by ill will on the part of his superiors in station, and he burns down the barns. He also is sentenced to transportation for life.

Surely the state of these two individuals differs as light does from darkness, yet by law the punishment is the same. The only ground that can be imagined for this equality of punishment is, that the consequences of the crime as felt by society are as great in the one case as the other: a computation of punishment formed somewhat in this manner: A. utters one hundred pounds worth of forged 5*l.* notes, and therefore deprives various members of our society of property to that amount in pound sterling. B. destroys a rick of the value of one hundred pounds, and thus deprives a member of our society of property to that amount; therefore the punishment which society shall inflict upon B. shall be precisely the same as that inflicted upon A. What *principle* is at work here? Not one which by punishment seeks to prevent others from committing a similar crime and at the same time tries to reform the criminal, but on the contrary, something very like retributive vengeance which inflicts a penalty upon the offender exactly commensurate with the wrong which society has suffered. But this, as we have already seen, is a vice in social law.

We may take another instance of a yet different kind, in which by law a like penalty is inflicted. C., a man of strong animal passions, who has been unaccustomed to control them in any way, inflicts for their gratification, or in revenge of some supposed wrong, "a grievous bodily harm" upon the person of a fellow man. C. may be an ignorant or an educated man, for although the cultivation of the intellectual faculties doubtless tends to curb the animal nature, when its uncontrolled indulgence does injury to ourselves or others, yet sometimes we see great mental energy combined with very ill-regulated animal appetites. More frequently, however, it is the ignorant man who sins against the law which protects the persons of individuals. However, be he ignorant or not, it is clear that he differs much, both in nature and habits, from either A. or B., and again it is difficult to recognize any principle but that of vengeance in the punishment inflicted, for it

is not in the wildness of a new colony that a sufficient curb can be put on the man of uncontrolled passions.

Let us trace the consequences a little farther. A. has received sentence for forgery; B. for the fire he has raised; C. a man of some education, and who has been convicted of maliciously maiming another; and D. a being who in his uncultivated nature is but little above the level of the brute, has violated the person of a woman, have both received the same sentence as the two former. How will the ranks of persons predisposed to commit these several offences, and to whose minds and hearts the sentence passed upon these individuals should speak so as to prevent them from committing the like crimes, be affected by the judgment? In the consciousness of possessing a talent and a cunning sufficient to place them, after some short interval of hardship and discomfort, in a station far above all pecuniary want in a new society; with well-remembered instances present to their minds of convicts of a like stamp living in luxury in New South Wales upon the fortunes they have amassed since their transportation, the sentence produces little or no deterring influence upon the class from which the forger has been taken.

Let us now turn to B. the rick-burner: his companions are in court, his fellow-laborers when employment could be obtained, and to them he is very likely to be known as one who is capable of doing a kind action for a friend, and who loves his wife and children, and is beloved by them: the jury has found him guilty, and the judge in his anxiety to prevent a repetition of the crime has passed upon this unhappy man the severest sentence the law allows him to inflict. At one stroke all these tender ties are severed, he receives the fiat in mute despair, and in his agony swoons away.* In this case the sentiment produced among bystanders is that of compassion for the offender, whose fault is almost forgotten in the extreme severity of the sentence, and the former companions of the prisoner leave the court with feelings of indignation

* This is no exaggerated picture. It occurred in the spring of 1844, at the trials of the rick-burners in Suffolk.

and perhaps of conceived revenge against those whom they consider as their oppressors, restrained only by the basest of all possible motives, fear. And to the offender what is the consequence? Every tie that bound him to life is broken,—what matters it to him whether he conducts himself well or ill in the colony whither he is sent? he is there for life, he cannot hope to rejoin wife or children any more—he goes forth a reckless man, rendered worse instead of better by the sentence of the law, and the wife who is left behind with a large family to struggle against the world for a maintenance, with only the Union house, or starvation before her—not allowed a divorce in consequence of a sentence which severs her from her husband as effectually as death—is too frequently not less deteriorated in her moral character than the husband, by the stern sentence of the law.

C. perhaps has friends in good circumstances: he very soon finds means to enjoy such luxuries as the colony affords, and it is well known that he will do so.* Where is the deterring influence in this case?—the criminal is able to defy the law!

D. is sentenced, and leaves the court muttering curses against the judge; he is removed in due time to Australia, and employed upon the works in a government gang; he repeats his offence, perhaps, or is guilty of some other act of violence; he is again tried, and sentenced to the severer discipline of Norfolk Island. What this is in its results may be best understood from the evidence of the Rev. W. Ullathorne, D. D., a Roman Catholic priest, as given before a Committee of the House of Commons.

“There was a conspiracy in 1834 among the prisoners to take the island from the military, and to obtain their freedom a skirmish ensued, one or two persons were slain upon the spot, and I believe eleven or twelve were dangerously wounded; six or seven died of their wounds afterwards a commission was sent from Sydney to try them (the conspirators). In this case thirty-

* A lieutenant in the army sentenced to transportation for a shameful outrage on a young lady, was seen driving his curtilge in the streets of Sydney very soon after his arrival in the colony.

one were condemned to death. Some six months afterwards I proceeded from Sydney for the purpose of attending those who were to be executed, and on board the same ship was a Protestant clergyman likewise. On my arrival I immediately proceeded, although it was late at night, to the jail, the commandant having intimated to me that only five days could be allowed for preparation, and he furnished me with a list of the names of the thirteen who were to die, the rest having been reprieved. . . . Upon entering I witnessed a scene such as I certainly never witnessed in my life before. The men were confined in three cells: they were then mixed together; they were not aware that any of them were reprieved. I found, so little had they expected the assistance of a clergyman, that when they saw me they at once gave up a plot for escape which they had very ingeniously planned, and which might, I think, have succeeded so far as their getting into the bush. I said a few words to induce them to resignation, and I then stated the names of those who were to die, and it is a remarkable fact that they one after another, as their names were pronounced, dropped on their knees and thanked God that they were to be delivered from that horrible place; whilst the others remained mute and weeping. It was the most horrible scene I ever witnessed." The same gentleman, corroborated by other authorities, represents that the convicts are driven to despair; that they have been known to commit murder for the sake of ridding themselves of life, and according to the expression used by one of the convicts himself, "When a man comes to this island he loses the heart of a man, and gets the heart of a beast."* Thus we see that, as if it were determined that he who entered that abode should have no hope left, there was not even a chaplain appointed by the government to speak words of admonition and comfort to the wretched men suffering a "punishment harder than they could bear."

I think that after this statement, I am justified in as-

* Papers relative to Transportation, &c., Session 1839. No. 582, cited by Abp. Whately.

suming that we are yet very far from having adopted the best means for attaining the object which social law has in view, *i. e.*, the prevention of crime, and that there is great need for a revision of this part of our laws.

It was natural to hope that the commissioners lately entrusted with the revision of the criminal law, would have taken the system of penalties also into consideration; but though they have suggested some few alterations, they have not thought fit to offer any observations on the tendency of the system generally. Thus though the barrister and the judge may be saved some trouble by the codification of our laws, the citizen who asks for security of life and property; or the philanthropist who asks that man shall be trained to virtue,—not to vice;—must remain as little satisfied as before; the question of how the great object of criminal law, *i. e.*, prevention of crime, can best be effected, is yet far from solved, and the subject requires to be taken up *de novo*.

As a preliminary step in such an inquiry, it becomes needful to consider whether the offences which are constituted such either by statute or common law, are all of a nature which can be clearly recognized as coming within the province of social legislation; for we have already seen that law must borrow much of its efficacy from its agreement with that ineffaceable common law which is written in man's heart by the finger of his Creator. And here it was to be hoped that as the attention of her Majesty's government had already been given to the codification of our criminal law, some endeavor would have been made on the part of the commissioners to remove statutes and practices which are no longer in keeping with the habits of the time: but in dividing the offences at present cognizable by our criminal courts into chapters, with a view to their classification, they have placed at the head two, which we have already seen, (§ II.) cannot be considered as either useful or expedient in the present age. These chapters are headed

1. Treason, and other offences against the state.
2. Offences against religion and the established church.

On the first of these the commissioners observe, "The first great class which comprises treasons against the

sovereign and the state, requires no remark; the crime of treason is, by its tendency to destroy the bonds of civil society and produce a state of anarchy and misery, clearly distinguished from all others. It falls within the description of the *crimen læsæ majestatis* of the Roman law, and by whatever name or whatever circumstances it be described, it must constitute in every system the first and highest offence known to the law."

Now though it may appear almost presumptuous to impugn the dicta of men who have devoted long and anxious attention to the subject, yet, if the principles already laid down be true ones, it is unavoidable: for if social law be founded upon them, then it is impossible to overlook them in any one or two instances without serious injury to the system, as a whole, which shall win the respect and consequent obedience of a nation. Let us consider the matter farther. The sovereign, considered as a human being, has the common natural rights of a human being, and no more, and with whatever more of sanctity and dignity public opinion may have hedged him round, it is clear that it is only as the embodiment of the law itself, of which he is the dispenser: and the law affords him protection in that judicial capacity by a fiction—"the king can do no wrong"—only in order to prevent the evils which would arise to the body politic were the king made privately answerable for the acts done in his name according to the law. But if the king attempt to act in opposition to the law, no one in these days will say that the resistance to such acts is wrong, but the contrary: though if such resistance be unsuccessful, the leaders of it, according to the still existing statutes, must expiate their crime by death. Yet if it be successful, as in the case of the partisans of the Prince of Orange in 1688, those same men, who, if unsuccessful, must have been executed as traitors, will be lauded, and justly so, as the saviours of their country. A strange anomaly, which at once removes the law of treason from among those founded on the natural rights of man, which, as we have already seen, form the basis of all social law. For man cannot delegate a right which he does not possess, and the power of exercising control over any man, or body of men,

beyond what is necessary for the maintenance of natural rights, has never been among the rights belonging to man as a species, and therefore can never properly be delegated to the law. Nor are the treason statutes needful; for he who commits violence personally or by deputy is liable to the penalties of the law, and can only avoid them, either by an act of indemnity afterwards granted by those who consider the benefit attained by such violence to be great enough to justify the dispensing with the strictness of law on that one occasion;—or by becoming great enough to be above the law, and in that case it should be remembered that he who cannot be made to submit to the penalty for murder or robbery, would not be more amenable to the penalties of treason. Those slain in a warfare not legally authorized are murdered; and the murderers may be prosecuted for what they have done; those who levy forced contributions are robbers, and must abide the consequence: those who assemble in numbers likely to occasion a breach of the peace, are punishable for a riot if they do not disperse when warned to do so. There is no part of treason, therefore, which is not provided for by the common criminal law, except that of the culpable imagining; but that, if it proceed not to culpable acts, will hardly now be held a crime.

When the statutes of the twenty-fifth of Edward III. were passed, society was very differently constituted: the penalties attached to robbery and murder were neither well defined nor rigorously enforced, and a powerful noble could rob his poor neighbors with impunity: the savage treason laws therefore were but the natural produce of a semi-barbarous age, where the law itself being weak, the hand of the monarch was made strong in order to execute it. That period is past, and the last successful traitors in 1688 ought not to have left a law in existence from which they themselves had so narrowly escaped, to clutch heads as noble as their own in after times.

There is yet another reason for the repeal of the treason laws: they are worse than useless. It has already been noticed that it never was held a dishonoring crime, and we have of late years seen vagabonds, who had no other way of attaining celebrity, attempt the sovereign's life by

way of obtaining the "pride, pomp, and circumstance" of a trial for high treason. This was made manifest by the effect at once produced by the wise enactment on occasion of those attempts on her present majesty. The moment the celebrity of a traitor was taken away and the offender was subjected to the dishonor of a whipping, the crime was attempted no more.

It appears, then, that in some cases the treason statutes are superfluous, in others absolutely mischievous, in others that they have proved nugatory, as in that part of them relating to the king's compassion which, it is well remembered, could not be executed in the only case since Henry VIII. in which any proceeding of this kind was attempted, and that thus a fair case is made out for their repeal. I need hardly remind the commissioners that the Roman law which they allude to was the support of a tyranny so intolerable that every good Englishman must pray that the *crimen læsæ majestatis* may never be heard of in England. It should sleep with the Cæsars, of whom alone it was worthy.

To the second division, namely, "offences against religion and the established church," I must in like manner object; for social law, as we have already seen, can take cognizance only of injuries done to the members of the society under its protection in their persons or property. We must therefore inquire what injury is done by the offender against religion or the established church to the other members of the society of which he forms one. "He who impugns the Christian religion," says Blackstone, "is punishable at common law . . . for Christianity is part of the laws of England,"* and he justifies the punishment of such offenders by saying that the sanctity of an oath, on which the evidence in courts of law is dependent, will be weakened and indeed rendered wholly nugatory where the person taking it has no belief in the existence of a God, or a future state; and thus the offence must strike at the very root of all social law. But with all due deference to so great an authority, it may be questioned

* Comm., book iv. c. 4.

whether the mere *outward* profession of a belief gives any security to society, and what more can human laws enforce? Many a voluptuary,—an ambitious man,—or a hard, griping miser, thinks as little of, and cares as little for a future state, as the man who openly professes his disbelief; is the oath of the one at all more binding on him than that of the other? But it will be said that the open profession and promulgation of this disbelief injure by its example. Yet, though it be of infinite importance to navigation that the Newtonian system of astronomy should be believed and acted on, who thinks of punishing the clown who may obstinately assert that the sun moves round the earth? No one who is able to judge for himself believes this, or is in the least danger of being seduced into believing it: and are we so little convinced of the truth of revelation as to dread that those who really believe it will give up their conviction the first time that they are asked to do so? Certainly among those who call themselves Christians there are numbers who are so only in name: these doubtless may easily be led into any extravagance; but it may well be questioned if the cause of religion gains anything by the example of a man who attends regularly on holy ordinances yet scruples not to corrupt his neighbor's wife or defraud him of his property in the meantime. The man who professes unbelief is far less dangerous to society than this kind of religious hypocrite, for the infidel at least carries his colors at the mast head and deceives no one. The injury done to the believer is none; for the good Providence of God cannot be quenched by the breath of man; and nothing more is requisite to make the teaching of irreligious doctrine wholly ineffectual, than the due instruction of the people, so that they may be capable of believing on conviction, without which religion becomes superstition, and is as useless towards guiding the life and conduct as atheism itself. But it is easier to imprison one man for teaching false doctrine, than to instruct thousands in the truth, and thus legislators become intolerant through mere indolence: a poor excuse for so glaring a departure from the great principles of all human law.

If indeed unbelief should arrive at that point of fana-

ticism which leads to interrupting and annoying others in their worship, this is an offence in law; for it is an act of outward violence, and may justly be restrained; since otherwise the party attacked would be forced into defending his great right of adoring the Creator, and a breach of the peace would ensue, which it is the especial business of social law to prevent; but until it arrives at this point, no one is injured, nor has the law any just cause for interference. For as none can *compel* the mind to receive an opinion, and as we have already seen that seduction to evil is not a crime punishable by social law, if the seduced party be a willing agent,—so the atheist, let him preach his doctrine as he will, commits no legal offence: for he may observe the moral law written in his heart, and submit to the government of the country as well as another; and his converts, if he make any, will not *necessarily* do otherwise. If indeed any one should preach that murder and robbery were to be practised, and were to make converts to such a doctrine, society would have a right to interfere to prevent such preaching, because it has a direct tendency to encourage the kind of violence which the law is intended to repress: but we are not to assume this constructively, and say that if the doctrine of future rewards and punishments be taken away such consequences must of necessity follow: for though among such as are not influenced by higher motives, a vague dread of the future may restrain from crime sometimes, yet the higher tone of mind is that where a man honors his own nature too much to degrade it, and loves good for the sake of the good itself rather than for the reward attached to it. Such a man may act nobly though he look for no reward; and therefore we cannot in justice attribute a consequence to an opinion which the holder of it disclaims, and which his life may possibly disclaim yet more effectually. But if the opinion should beget the conduct we expect, then the law will take cognizance of the crime without asking what the opinion was which engendered it: for, as has been already observed, it is held, and justly held by high legal authorities that the intent to commit the crime, not the motive or opinion which caused that intent to be formed, is the part of the offence which falls within the pro-

vince of criminal jurisprudence. God judges the motive, —man the act, and this is as it should be; for the small knowledge possessed by human beings hardly enables them to read their own motives aright; still less can they judge those of others.

I have argued the point here upon its general bearings, without referring to the particular offences relating to religion marked out by the law, and as if they were all included under one general head; though the chief of the prosecutions which have occurred of late years, wherein religion was held in a manner the plaintiff, have been included under the head of blasphemous libel. But it matters not under what form these prosecutions are instituted: religion cannot be taught by law. God is able to vindicate his own rights without the assistance of the judge; and it should not be forgotten by those who advocate the system of maintaining the right faith of the people by pains and penalties, that when the Lord of life was contented to offer up the mortal clothing which he wore, for the ransom of his enslaved creatures, it was under a charge of blasphemy that he suffered. Nor was the charge without foundation if it were allowed to short-sighted man to regulate the intercourse between the Creator and his creatures, by his own, as he thinks, *orthodox* creed. The priests and rulers of the Jews had a divine revelation on which their polity was founded; a fresh teacher arose, a poor man, who drew a large party after him, and who professed his intention of making a complete change in the government and religion of the state. Instead of inquiring if his doctrine might not perchance be true notwithstanding its novelty, or if indeed they might not be found at last to fight against God, they shut their ears to all reasoning, assumed that they knew better than the ignorant people who followed him, and he was executed as a traitor to the Roman Emperor, and a blasphemer against the Jewish religion. Let it be remembered too that the Reformation of the Church was opposed as an unorthodox, and almost a blasphemous movement, till it had proved successful, and that almost all the benefits of civil and religious liberty which we now enjoy sprung from determined heresy on the one

hand, and successful treason on the other. A sufficient reason, one would imagine, for removing both from the statute book and the codified common law two classes of offences, which to-day may be the greatest of crimes, to-morrow the most glorious of victories over tyranny and prejudice. Real crime does not so easily change its complexion.

There are two other points which do not occupy so conspicuous a place in law as the great classes of offence which have just been noticed, but which yet require some consideration before we go on to the classification of crime and punishment. One of these is the liability or non-liability of a woman to a criminal process during her state of coverture. Nothing can more clearly mark the want of some fixed principles of law than the uncertainty which prevails on this head. Generally, if any certainty can be elicited from so much of doubt and contradiction,*

* Lord Hale lays it down, "As to the civil subjection of the wife to the husband, though in many cases the command or authority of the husband either express or implied doth not privilege the wife from capital punishment for capital offences, yet in some cases the indulgence of the law doth privilege her from capital punishment for such offences as are in themselves of a capital nature wherein these ensuing differences are observable.

"1. If a feme covert alone, without her husband, and without the coercion of her husband, commit treason or felony, though it be but larceny, she shall suffer the like judgment and execution as if she were sole; this is agreed on all hands.

"2. But if she commit larceny by the coercion of her husband she is not guilty, and according to some, if it be by the command of her husband; which seems to be the law if her husband be present, but not if her husband be absent at the time and place of the felony committed.

"3. But this command or coercion of the husband does not excuse in case of treason, nor of murder, in regard of the heinousness of these crimes.

"4. If the husband and wife together commit larceny or burglary, by the opinion of Bracton both are guilty, and so it hath been practised by other judges; and possibly in the strictness of law, unless the actual coercion of the husband appear, she may be guilty in such a case; for it may many times fall out that the husband doth commit larceny by the instigation, though he cannot in law do it by the coercion of his wife; but the latter

a married woman charged with committing a criminal act, in case her husband be present at the time, is held to have acted under his coercion, and is on that ground entitled to an acquittal excepting the crime charged be treason or homicide. Now, in this small part of law as laid down by the highest authorities, we find numerous deviations from true principles.

Duress, inducing a just and well-grounded fear of death, or of grievous bodily harm, is held a sufficient excuse from the penal consequences of any act done under its influence. If this principle be a just one it is applicable in all cases; if unjust, in none. Upon what ground is this applied to a married woman under certain circumstances, and only to married women at all? A *feme sole* (unmarried woman), although her inferior physical strength renders her liable to be in duress to any man, being present, who should threaten her with bodily harm, must prove that such threats were used, ere the law will excuse her; the married woman is held to be coerced by his mere presence—at least some are of that opinion—though there may be no proof of menace; but if he be not present, though previous menace may have been the inducement to the commission of the crime, she is liable, notwithstanding her coverture:—and in those crimes which of all others are most likely to lead a man to use his superior strength to compel assistance from his wife, she is also liable, even though he be present.

practice hath obtained, that if the husband and wife commit burglary and larceny together the wife shall be acquitted and the husband only convicted.”

And in Hawkins' *Pleas of the Crown*, ch. i., it is laid down that

“S. 9. 1. A *feme covert* is so much favored in respect of that power and authority which her husband has over her, that she shall not suffer any punishment for committing a bare theft in company with, or by coercion of her husband.

“S. 10. Neither shall she be deemed accessory to a felony for receiving her husband who has been guilty of it, as her husband shall be for receiving her.

“S. 11. But if she commit a theft of her own voluntary act, or by the bare command of her husband, or be guilty of treason, murder, or robbery in company with or by coercion of her husband, she is punishable as much as if she were sole.”

It is not easy to discover what is the false principle which lies at the bottom of all these contradictions. Probably most of the statutes and practices of law regarding the female sex originated in their lack of physical strength: for in a semi-barbarous age it was almost equivalent to the having no rights if the possessor were unable to maintain them with a strong hand; and most of our laws having had their origin in such times, the husband claims and is still allowed by English law the power of inflicting both imprisonment and personal chastisement on the wife.*

* The law respecting the control which is given to the husband over the wife has recently been laid down by Mr. Justice Coleridge in the elaborate judgment given by him *in re Cochrane*, which is to be found reported in 8 Dowling's P. C. 630. A writ of habeas corpus had been granted to the wife, who having been brought into power of the husband by stratagem, had since that time been kept in confinement by him. By the return to the writ it appeared that the parties had lived together for about three years immediately after their marriage in terms of apparent affection, and had two children; that in May, 1836, Mrs. Cochrane withdrew herself and offspring from his house and protection, and had resided away from him against his will for nearly four years. While absent from her husband, Mrs. Cochrane had always resided with her mother, nor was there the slightest imputation on her honor. In ordering her to be restored to the husband, the learned Judge, after stating the question to be, whether by the common law, the husband, in order to prevent his wife from eloping, *has a right to confine her in his own dwelling-house, and restrain her from her liberty for an indefinite time*, using no cruelty, nor imposing any hardship nor unnecessary restraint on his part, and on hers there being no reason from her past conduct to apprehend that she will avail herself of her absence from his control to injure either his honor or his property, stated that there could be *no doubt of the general dominion which the law of England attributes to the husband over the wife*; in Bacon's Abridgment, title *Baron and Feme (B)*, it is stated thus: "The husband hath by law power and dominion over his wife, and may keep her by force within the bounds of duty, AND MAY BEAT HER, but not in a violent or cruel manner...." "Although expressed in terms simple almost to rudeness," continues the Judge, "the principle on which it (the law) proceeds is broad and comprehensive; it has respect to the terms of the marriage contract and the infirmity of the sex. For the happiness and honor of both parties, it places the

But as this power on the part of the husband places the wife in the condition of a slave deprived in great measure of civil rights, so the law in compassion has swerved somewhat from the strictness of justice on the one hand, in order to compensate the injustice done on the other. At least, this seems the most rational account of the practice. But if this be so, it is bad legislation: for every rational being is also a responsible being, nor is society likely to be benefited by relieving at least one-third of its members from the weight of criminal responsibility in a variety of cases: the wise legislator should rather go at once to the root of the evil, and deny to any human being such a legal power over another as may compel to the commission of crime, otherwise the law gives to every man who wishes to commit wrong an accomplice who is likely soon to be rendered unscrupulous by impunity. This thought probably crossed the minds of those who made the exception with regard to murder and treason, for here irresponsible accomplices were too dangerous to be permitted, and the woman is made responsible, notwithstanding the power which the law gives the husband of making her life miserable in case of non-compliance. The root of the evil in this case lies partly in the civil law, which deprives the woman, and especially the *feme covert*, of many of the rights of a citizen;* but the power of personal violence and abridgment of liberty, which the criminal law tacitly affords to the husband, by refusing to notice such offences of his against the wife, except on very outrageous occasions, must also bear its share of the blame: and it is much to be wished that unless absolute

wife under the guardianship of the husband, and entitles him for the sake of both to protect her from the danger of unrestrained intercourse with the world by enforcing," &c.

* The laws regarding property chiefly had their origin in feudal times, when the woman, being unable to do military service, was of course deprived of the privileges which such service obtained. On what principle of *right doing* the disabilities which that state of society rendered proper are continued, when feudal service is at an end, I leave to those who make and amend laws to consider.

duress be proved, the wife, no less than the husband, should be held responsible for criminal acts, and that in order to this even-handedness of justice, the woman should have the full rights of a free citizen afforded her—should be subject to no imprisonment but for crimes proved in open court, and to no personal violence farther than the enforcement of the sentence of such court should require. It will remain for those who treat of civil law to consider whether on their side also some amendment of the system be not required in order to restore this large portion of responsible moral agents to a position wherein they may be enabled to act up to the requirements of both the moral and social law. The state of society is not likely to be amended by granting impunity for crime as a compensation for denial of rights; thus affording to a large portion of its members freedom to do evil, while abridging very considerably their freedom to do good.

The second point on which I would observe, is one in which our criminal law is so at variance with that written on man's heart, that it would be well were it expunged from our future code. At present those who conceal offenders from the pursuit of justice are made liable to heavy penalties. As usual where human law is at variance with Divine, it is disregarded: the ties of kindred or of affection are too much interwoven in our very nature, and are formed of materials far too strong to be torn asunder by a mere cowardly fear. The friend who knows that by sheltering one who, however he may have transgressed, he still loves—he may expose himself to danger, gains merit in his own eyes, and those of others, by braving the consequences of an act which, though forbidden by law, is in accordance with the best feelings of the human heart: and whatever is felt to be an act of courage and fidelity will be done by brave and good men;—men who would have shrunk from committing the crime the perpetrator of which they have sheltered. Doubtless accomplices and persons deeply engaged in the same kind of nefarious practices may also afford shelter to criminals for their own private ends: but it is no less certain that the offence, if it be one, of sheltering a criminal from justice, is more likely to be committed by the generous and the

warm-hearted than by the calculating thief or accomplice. Suppose a case in which a man had been guilty of treason,—or, were those laws abolished,—of an unsuccessful attempt to overthrow the government, in which murder had been committed by shooting some of the soldiery. The friends of the offender know that though misguided, perhaps, he was not depraved—they are anxious to save him—a sister, it may be, hazards everything to accomplish the point,—she fails—is tried—convicted—and becomes liable to transportation for seven years! Probably the general feeling would be such that no sentence of this kind would be executed, but we ought not to leave in the statute-book an enactment which outrages man's best feelings, and is, mainly from that cause, useless in itself. When an enactment does not effect its purpose it ought to be repealed at once; for it is not well to habituate the people to disregard the law: and though this latter can never possess or expect to obtain that deference which we bestow on the higher laws of that Great Legislator who views the heart rather than the actions, yet it is well to keep it so in accordance with that which he has sanctioned, that it may borrow from it a claim to reverence which it has not in itself.

Having now gone cursorily over our criminal code, and so far examined it as to show wherein it is not in accordance with the principles laid down at the beginning of this treatise: it remains that we go on to the second head, and consider of the possible amendment of it by a fresh classification of crimes and penalties.

CHAPTER III.

POSSIBLE AMENDMENT OF THE PRESENT SYSTEM.

THE first step towards the consideration of a new system of penalties for crime which may be effectual toward its repression, must be an endeavor to become acquainted with the nature of the kind of persons upon whom the punishment is expected to operate: and for this purpose it is necessary to divide offences into such various classes as to make the very crime committed in some measure an indication of the character of the offender. To do so with complete accuracy would indeed be impossible; but the following divisions, which nearly coincide with those used in the published "Tables of Criminal Offenders," presented every year to the two Houses of Parliament, may serve the purpose.

1. Offences against property not committed with violence.
2. Offences against property committed with violence.
3. Forgery.
4. Offences against the person.
5. Malicious injuries to property.
6. Other offences not included in the above classes, such as riots, destroying game by night, &c.

SECTION I.

1. *Offences against property not committed with violence.*

In this first class is included the great bulk of the crime which is committed in this country. It embraces cattle stealing; horse stealing; sheep stealing; the various kinds of larceny; embezzlement; receiving stolen goods; frauds; and attempts to defraud. The first essay of the young criminal is made in some one of these offences. A girl giving way to the temptations thrown in her way

in the service of her mistress, or stealing a ribbon from a shop to gratify her vanity, becomes liable to the penalty of the law; or an ignorant laborer yields to a sudden temptation, and who for the first time steals and kills a sheep, is detected, and a severe punishment awaits him. These are instances which fall under one subdivision of this class.

In another subdivision is to be found the receiver of stolen goods, who, during many years, has been deriving a profit from his nefarious occupation, corrupting all those with whom he has brought himself in contact, and whilst he has seen victim after victim punished for the offences to which he has urged them on, and of which he has received the gain, has by his skill and talent eluded the law so as to escape detection, until his whole nature has become utterly corrupted and depraved.

Some of the fraudulent pretences which are made use of to obtain goods or money likewise indicate a mind which has been long addicted to the commission of crime. An instance of this kind occurred during the present year. The prisoner, a man of about forty years of age, a stranger to the townspeople, walked into a pawnbroker's shop, and sought to pledge a ring, which he said was of gold, and had been sent him by his son who was in India. The ring was tried with aqua fortis, and withstood the test, and twenty shillings were thereupon advanced. The same tale imposed upon other pawnbrokers in the town, from whom the prisoner thus obtained money to the amount of five or six pounds. In the meantime, one shopman, more anxious than the rest, applied a file to the supposed gold, and found to his dismay another metal. All the rings turned out to be made of zinc, and had been covered with gold by the electric process now well known, and the man who had thus disposed of them was shortly afterwards apprehended in the act of disposing of a large cross of a similar kind, which he said had been the property of a deceased Roman Catholic lady. He was convicted of obtaining money under false pretences, and sentenced to seven years' transportation. The conduct of this man throughout, together with the very nature of the offence, evinced a character of selfish cunning.

So, again, there may be found persons leagued together in sheep-stealing or horse-stealing, whose plans are all concerted in the first instance to commit the theft, and afterwards dispose of the produce;—gangs of offenders who live by crime.

These four subdivisions, which depend mainly on the character of the offender existing in all the offences enumerated under this division, it is clear that legislators can do no more at present, than affix various degrees and kinds of punishment, leaving it to the discretion of the judge to determine its application in each particular case. Let us proceed by steps.

In the first place we find a numerous body of poor neglected children, who are known to the legislature as “juvenile offenders.”—a term that has become familiar to the ears of all from the attempts that have been made at different times to arrive at some kind of efficient punishment for them, which might reform whilst it chastised. Of all the problems of criminal legislation this is the most difficult to solve, but at the same time if grappled with successfully, that from which the largest benefit may be expected, since then the most fruitful source of heavier crime is at once dried up. In this class I would include all offenders under sixteen years of age.

Cases sometimes occur when from mere wantonness boys commit small thefts; for them a whipping is perhaps the best punishment, for there the mind is not corrupt, and if surrounding circumstances do not induce them again to err in like manner, the remembrance of the pain and disgrace they have suffered will prevent a repetition of the offence by themselves or others similarly situated.

But those who for the first time fall within the category of juvenile offenders are, for the most part, children who have had an evil example set them by their parents, or have been allowed to mix with bad companions, or have been deliberately tutored into crime. The effect of imprisonment in such cases has been already adverted to, and its utter failure as a preventive of crime, and a step towards reformation has been sufficiently pointed out. This has not been overlooked by the administrators of the law, and in courts of justice, when the judge looks with

a compassionate eye upon the youth and neglected education of the criminal, he is not unfrequently heard to pronounce sentence of transportation upon him as a matter of kindness, accompanying the sentence with the expression of his determination to write to the Secretary of State requesting that he may be sent to Parkhurst.* It sometimes happens that Parkhurst is full and the boy is

* Parkhurst prison was established by the statute 1 and 2 Vict. c. 82, which, after reciting that "it may be of great public advantage that a prison be provided in which young offenders may be detained and corrected and may receive such instruction and be subject to such discipline as shall appear most conducive to their reformation, and to the repression of crime, and that the buildings at Parkhurst in the Isle of Wight lately used as a military hospital, and as a military asylum for the children of soldiers, are buildings which may be conveniently used for such a prison," provides, "that it shall be lawful for her majesty by warrant under the royal sign manual to appoint that the said buildings at Parkhurst shall be used as a prison for the confinement of such offenders as are hereinafter mentioned, as soon as the same can be fitted and completed for that purpose." Under this statute power is given to the Secretary of State for the Home Department to direct the removal to Parkhurst of those who are under sentence of transportation, and those under sentence of imprisonment, to continue there until transported, or they shall become entitled to liberty, or until they shall be removed back to the prison whence they were taken. Instances of the exercise of this power with respect to the latter class, have been exceedingly few in number; and by far the greater number of the prisoners at Parkhurst have been allowed to avail themselves of her majesty's pardon, conditional on their emigrating to the colonies of Western Australia, New Zealand, or Van Diemen's Land. Parkhurst was adapted for the reception of prisoners on the 26th of December, 1838; and the first report of the visitors appointed under the above statute, was presented to the Secretary of State on the 1st of July, 1839. From that report it appears that the prison can accommodate 320 persons; 200 prisoners in the upper wards, and 120 in the junior ward. They are employed in agricultural labor, in learning trades, in performing domestic offices, and in school lessons. The workshops are within the prison walls; outside are nearly eighty acres of land, for employing the prisoners in agricultural labor.

Vide st. 1 and 2 Vict., ch. 82, and the reports of visitors, 1839-1844.

therefore at once transported, but the sentence and the recommendation show the estimate which is made by many of our judges, of the relative value of the two systems of punishment. It is at once a recognition of the evil of imprisonment, and of the good arising to the criminal by being removed from all circumstances which have led to the commission of his crime.

I would propose, therefore, as a second degree of punishment, deportation from England to a colony, say Canada, where, in asylums properly constituted for that purpose, they might receive education, be taught trades, and after a time of probation had elapsed, and by their labor they had contributed towards defraying the expense of their maintenance and teaching,—might be allowed in that same colony to live free men, supported by their own exertions. If there were a market for labor there at all, they would find their early fault no obstacle to their employment, for the training they had gone through would more than counterbalance in the mind of the employer the cause of their coming to the colony:—i. e., a *first* offence, committed in early youth. An asylum of the kind proposed in a colony, has a considerable advantage over any in England, however well conducted: for at the period of discharge employment might immediately be obtained in a freshly settled country; since where there are new lands to be cleared, a laborer can never be at a loss for work, and a boy trained in the country, accustomed to the climate, and to the kind of labor which he would be engaged in, would, as a man be a much more valuable servant than an emigrant that has all to learn, and is probably discontented with his situation, and perhaps suffering from change of climate. Even if the boys of an establishment of this kind in England were afterwards sent to the colonies as laborers, by way of removing them from the temptation to crime which our dense population always presents, they would be comparatively helpless and useless, unaccustomed to exercise their talents in the contrivances and expedients which, if they had been from the first engaged a part of the day in the agricultural labor of the colony, would, before the period of their discharge, have become familiar to them.

The effects of such a system even upon boys who have been transported for a second or third offence, and exposed to the corrupting influence of the hulks, is well exemplified in the case of the Penitentiary established at Point Puer in Norfolk Island. This was instituted in 1834. In its early establishment the value of six months' labor of 200 boys amounted to £1134, and this, taking their clothing and maintenance at £25 each, per ann. is very nearly half the cost: for $200 \times 25 = 5000$, and half this sum gives £2500 for the six months. But £25 is perhaps rather a high average, for the cost of each pauper in an Union Work-house is considerably lower. The convict upon his arrival is allowed to make choice out of six occupations, viz., that of a carpenter, sawyer, nailer, shoemaker, tailor, and agricultural labor. They rise at five, and after attending prayers are marched off in military order to agricultural employments till half past eight, when they return to breakfast. At half-past nine the boys proceed to their different trades; at one they dine, and resume their work from two to five; between five and six they sup; from six to eight a school is opened under the direction of a schoolmaster, and after prayers the boys retire to bed. They sleep in hammocks. They are allowed three hearty meals per diem; they cultivate the ground upon which the vegetables they use are grown, and although the buildings were erected under the superintendence of the government, all the labor was done by the boys, with the exception of a part of the barracks. The good effects of the system were soon experienced; and of 39 boys who were removed to this establishment upon their arrival in the colony in May, 1834, the greater part of whom were afterwards forwarded to Hobart Town for assignment, 20 were never tried subsequently; seven or eight others but once or twice; whilst, on the other hand, many of the boys on the former system during a similar period had committed nineteen or twenty offences calling for magisterial interference.*

But whilst the actual condition of the convict would be

* Report of the Committee of the House of Lords on Transportation. Ditto upon Jails, 1835.

greatly improved, as compared with what it would have been had he remained in this country, the penalty would be one which would effectually deter from crime. In youth a compulsory removal from a place which we are accustomed to and know thoroughly, to one which is wholly unknown, is always looked upon with much dread. Few of us forget throughout life, the first journey from home to school. It required the kindest words of encouragement from our parents to soften the blow, and the separation was only acquiesced in by the child because he was conscious that it was for his good, and that the absence from home would be of short duration. Hold out removal from this country as a punishment, with nothing to soften the pang of separation from all the associations of childhood, with no one near, just escaped from prison himself to tell tales of its comparative comfort, and it would be difficult to invent any penalty to all appearance more frightful. To this it may be added, that there would be small inducement to train a child to theft, as many are now trained, if his instructor in crime were fully aware that the first detected offence would place him for ever beyond the reach of his influence.

By thus removing a criminal in the first stage of his career, who, if allowed to remain in England, would, with the fillip which imprisonment too often gives, gradually increase in the gravity and daringness of his crimes, as increased experience added skill to his plans of depredation, there would no longer remain the means of recruiting the ranks of the more desperate offenders. Experience of courts of justice and official documents tell us that against such persons previous convictions for felony are constantly produced in evidence, the consequence of which almost invariably is a sentence of transportation.* Then it is that boys are sent to Parkhurst, and adults to

* By statute 7 and 8 Geo. IV. c. 28, sec. 11. If any person shall be convicted of any felony not punishable with death, committed after a previous conviction for felony; such persons shall on such subsequent conviction be liable at the direction of the court to be transported beyond the seas for life, or for any term not less than seven years; or to be imprisoned for any term, &c.

Pentonville prison, there to receive instruction and to be subjected to a moral discipline which may ultimately redeem them from their state of degradation.

In the report of Parkhurst prison for 1844, it appears that 139 boys who had left it during the preceding year were disposed of in the following manner:—

Removed for transportation	23
Sent to the refuge for the destitute	1
Released with a free pardon	2
Restored to their friends on the expiration of their sentence of imprisonment	3
Apprentices sent to W. Australia with conditional pardon	28.
Ditto to Van Diemen's Land	21
Emigrants to Van Diemen's Land	11
Sent to Van Diemen's Land to receive proba- tionary passes there	19
Emigrants to New Zealand	22
Apprentices to ditto	9

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Out of these, seventeen are stated to be incorrigible. What a tale of previous corruption does that word tell of! But if the means at hand at Parkhurst or any other similarly well-arranged penitentiary were used when the child was first led into the commission of crimes instead of being postponed until he had become a hardened criminal, who can doubt but that the work of moral reformation would have been much more rapid and certain than it is at present. As it is they are sent to Van Diemen's Land as convicts, in many cases to lead a career of infamy for the term for which they may have been transported, and eventually to return to this country utterly reckless and abandoned. Yet if in 120 cases success more or less attended the efforts of the teachers where the work of corruption had already gone on for a considerable time, how much more success might we expect when those efforts were directed to the improvement of natures very slightly deteriorated. Experience has taught us what might well have been predicated, that Juvenile offenders

are a class easily to be reformed, and that the instances where the attempt has failed are those in which the frequent commission of offences has entirely destroyed the moral feeling. It may with safety be laid down that if for a first offence removal from this country to a penitentiary abroad were to take place, no report would affix the word "incurable" to any of its inmates.

There is another subject connected with the punishment of juvenile offenders which requires an observation. The immediate application of the means of reformation which I have insisted on would be interfered with to a great extent, if boys in the interval between their apprehension and trial were to be exposed to the contaminating influence of a prison; for at present it is notorious that often before trial the youthful prisoner has been allowed to be taught the lessons of crime by others more experienced than himself.*

It is obvious, however, that in proportion as you diminish the number of cases punishable by imprisonment, you afford the means of a better system of classification of untried offenders while in confinement, and will be better enabled to carry into effect regulations for the purpose of separating them from the more depraved. With a view to avoiding the contamination to be apprehended for the juvenile offender in the intercourse of a jail, Sir Eardly Wilmot brought a Bill into the House of Commons in 1833, which had for its object the introduction of a summary trial before two justices, so as to avoid the imprisonment before conviction. In asking for leave to introduce this bill he stated that in the county which he

* An instance of the evil resulting from the insufficient classification of prisoners occurred at the last assizes. A boy imprisoned for a very trifling offence was allowed to hold intercourse with others in the prison. A prisoner much older than himself, but whose term of imprisonment expired at the same time, induced him shortly afterwards to join with him in uttering counterfeit coin. Fortunately the boy was detected upon the first attempt, and admitted as evidence against his accomplice. He told his story most artlessly, and his testimony being confirmed by other witnesses, his corrupter was convicted. So destitute was this poor boy, that the night of his discharge was passed in the station house.

represented (Derbyshire) considerably more than half the criminal offenders were under twenty-one years of age, and during the last seven years 1300 individuals had been tried who were under eighteen, and of these one-half were under fifteen. Thus boys being sent to jail for they hardly knew what, soon became corrupted or depraved, their sense of shame was destroyed, and they were converted into hardened offenders. The bill was dropped, but I should feel much inclined to adopt its provisions so far as to entrust justices with the power of summary conviction in all cases where the criminal was under sixteen years of age, unless he or his father or his mother or nearest relation should require trial by jury, when the child should be removed to prison to take his trial with others.

One other inquiry remains,—*i. e.*, the cost of the proposed system of deportation. In its first operation an increase of expense would be perceivable, but not to any alarming extent; for it has already been shown that a penitentiary in a country where labor is valuable, and the means of sustenance plentiful, soon realizes a considerable sum from the work of its inmates. But if, as it is most confidently anticipated, the effect of the system would be to lessen the number of criminals in this country, then the saving of expenditure which would arise from this diminution of the number of offenders would more than counterbalance any increase on the other side. So far, at any rate, as “juvenile offenders” go, the increase of expense should not prevent the plan proposed from being tried, if in other respects it is good. If a society, by its lack of care and foresight, allow any of its young population to be in such a state that the wonder is rather that crime is abstained from, than that it is committed, the least which that society can do,—if it demand a penalty for the infraction of its laws,—is to take care that the punished child is placed in a situation which allows him the opportunity of becoming eventually a good man. If England have a conscience, she ought not to be satisfied with less.

We next approach those cases in which, although the criminal be an adult, the circumstances attending the

commission of the offence, the absence of any previous conviction, and the general good character, all betoken a nature but little hardened. Imprisonment has been shown to fail in these cases as in those of juvenile offenders. Deportation to penitentiaries abroad, framed upon the model of the Pentonville prison, but with considerable alteration in many of its particulars, of the discipline which is necessary to be maintained there, is what I venture to recommend in its stead.

On the cell of each prisoner at Pentonville is affixed the following notice:—

“Prisoners admitted into the Pentonville Prison will have an opportunity of being taught a trade, and of receiving sound moral and religious instruction. They will be transplanted to a penal colony in classes, as follows:

“FIRST CLASS.

“*Prisoners who shall, when sent from this prison, be reported by the governor and chaplain to have behaved well.*

“These at the end of eighteen months will be sent to Van Diemen’s Land, to receive a ticket of leave on landing, which, until forfeited by bad conduct, will in that country confer most of the advantages of freedom. Labor being in great demand, and wages therefore high, the prisoner’s knowledge of a trade will enable him, with industry and continued good conduct, to secure a comfortable and respectable position in society. Prisoners who obtain tickets of leave may also, by industry and good conduct, acquire in a short time means sufficient to enable their families to follow them.

“SECOND CLASS.

“*Prisoners who have not behaved well.*

“These, also, at the end of eighteen months, will be transported to Van Diemen’s Land, where they will receive a probationary pass, which will secure to them only a limited portion of their earnings, will admit of their enjoying only a small portion of liberty, and will subject them to many restraints and privations.

"THIRD CLASS.

"Prisoners who have behaved ill.

"These will be transported to Tasman's Peninsula, a small colony occupied only by convicts and a military guard, there to be employed in public works in probationary gangs, without wages and deprived of liberty; and their families will not under any circumstances be allowed to follow them. Prisoners will see how much depends upon their own conduct during their confinement in this prison. According to their behavior and improvement here, will be their future position in the colony to which they will be sent."

Such are the words of kindness and consolation which meet the eye of the convict when he is first introduced into this asylum: or his first lessons in reading tell the good in store for him if he behave well. He has the hope of becoming something better; and the means of knowledge and moral reformation are at hand. At Pentonville these have been used successfully. Of 500 men upon whom the treatment has been tried, only five or six have been pronounced incorrigible: and yet among their ranks are many convicted of the most serious offences, and whose previous lives had been one continued series of crime. Eighteen months of preparation are scarcely too long for such as these, and entire separation from all intercourse with each other is necessary. There are evils, however, attendant upon all systems of solitary confinement, which have been already noticed; and no one would seek to impose it except as a lesser evil, by which the greater one of the communication of depraved thought is prevented.

In the case of less hardened offenders many alleviations of this system might be allowed. The sentence, in order to distinguish it from the penalty of "transportation," as now in use, should be "*compulsory emigration for life*," and the condition of the prisoner should be assimilated to that of the emigrant directly he is rendered fit, and is capable of maintaining himself. For this purpose so soon as he has received from the governor of the prison a certificate of proficiency in the trade or occupation he has

selected, and one of good moral character from the chaplain, a pardon conditional on his not quitting the colony should be granted. These certificates would be ready passports for employment, and instead of being regarded as memorials of former shame, they would be treasured as precious tokens of an improved condition of life. I would propose further, that upon copies of these certificates being sent to the officers of the parish where the emigrant had gained a settlement, it should be compulsory upon them, on the application of the wife, to send out to the colony both her and her children. This would cure many evils: it would be but right as respects the man who has been subjected to a punishment severe in the first instance, and which, without the hope of this alleviation, would be too severe; and to the unoffending wife and children, who have been deprived by the law of their natural protector, it would be only common justice to hold out to them the means of rejoining him: the state of the colony and of the mother country would both be benefited; the parish which would otherwise be burdened with the support of them for years as paupers, would not be prejudiced; and the scandal which now so often occurs from the contraction of a second marriage during the life of the first husband or the living in adultery—transgressions into which the woman is often almost driven by her destitute condition—would be avoided. Let the wife rejoin her husband, the children their father, and in a country where labor will win a sufficient remuneration, and temptation to crime is thereby diminished, they would form an honest, well-conducted emigrant family.

With regard to female offenders, a similar system might well be pursued. Hitherto the plan of transportation as respects them, has utterly failed. The evidence given before the transportation committee respecting female convicts was truly disheartening; but it must be recollected that they had lost all sense of shame before they left England, and it could hardly be expected that they would conduct themselves better when assigned as servants in New South Wales, or taken to the factory at Paramatta, where but little discipline was maintained.

Let them, however, be removed from this country for a first offence, placed in penitentiaries abroad,—taught occupations which would qualify them to discharge efficiently the duties of an emigrant's wife, or of a good household servant upon their leaving the penitentiary,—granted certificates of acquirement and of moral character, and there would be no reason to doubt that the objects of criminal punishment would be attained, with regard to female offenders both juvenile and adult, as completely as has already been anticipated in the case of boys and men, and partly proved by the experience of Parkhurst, Point Puer, and Pentonville. The general rule is a clear one:—effectually punish crime in its first outbreak;—delay can only produce a necessity for severer measures, —increased expense to society, greater pain to the offender, and render after all the success, both in deterring from crime and in reforming the criminal, less certain.

We have thus disposed of the cases in the first subdivision of the offences against property considered not upon the ground of the loss which society may have sustained by the perpetration of the offence, but with a view to the kind of human creature who committed it. The second subdivision is more easily disposed of. This, as has already been stated, consists of men who, either by the fault of the present system, or from an insufficient detective police force, have grown gray in guilt. The first of these causes, it is to be hoped, will be ultimately removed; but for many years, the numbers of this class will necessarily be considerable. I am unable to suggest any plan better adapted to the reform of these offenders than that of transportation under Lord Stanley's orders; cases from among them being selected as at present for the preparatory discipline of Pentonville. The ability displayed by such offenders, while it leaves them less excuse for their crime, renders a severe punishment needful to prevent them from repeating it. With them the profit arising from their criminal course is calculated to a nicety, and against it are set off the chances of detection, and the fear of punishment. They have employed their talents against society, and they cannot complain of being removed to another country where they will have less opportunity of exercis-

ing their bad ingenuity in defrauding their neighbors, and where, though they must pass a life of hardship at first, they have the hope allowed them of ameliorating their condition by an improvement in conduct. They would thus go through the grades of

1. Detention in Norfolk island.
2. Probation gangs.
3. Probation passes, by virtue of which they become for the first time entitled to a portion of their wages.
4. Ticket of leave, which has all the effect of a pardon, except that they are restricted to the colony.
5. Pardon.

Even in these cases, when a convict had obtained to the fourth class, it would be desirable that his wife and children should be sent out to him at the mutual request of both parties.

The same order of Lord Stanley contains efficient instructions relative to the treatment of female convicts who would be in this subdivision.*

SECTION II.

2. Offences against property committed with violence.

This class includes the various kinds of burglary; housebreaking; robbery; sending threatening letters to extort money, &c. The total number of offenders sentenced in the year 1843, in the county of York† for crimes included under this head, was 237: that of criminals of the first class 1246; so that we may reckon offenders of the second description at about one-fifth of the number of those of the first. First offenders are found but rarely among their ranks, although sometimes it hap-

* Vide Order in Appendix.

† Vide the tables of criminal offenders presented to both Houses of Parliament for 1844, page 40. I have selected the table of criminal offenders for the county of York, by way of showing the comparative number in each class, as from its large manufacturing and agricultural population it affords a fair criterion for the whole of England.

pens that a prisoner is presumed to be so from not having been before detected.

In all these cases I would leave the system of transportation upon a scale proportioned to the magnitude of the offence as it is at present. Much might indeed be said against the policy of allowing the return of a convict to his former associates in the mother country, even after any period of expatriation; but it is difficult to suggest degrees of transportation which would be understood at home, excepting those of duration of time: and a bad man is sometimes deterred from committing violence in addition to the robbery by the remembrance that in that case his offence, if detected, would be more severely visited. In all the offences of this class, however, the judge should be allowed to substitute "Compulsory Emigration" for transportation, where sufficient mitigating circumstances exist to justify the change.

SECTION III.

3. *Forgery and offences against the Currency.*

The observations already made on offenders who make use of their talents to defraud their fellow-men, apply to this class also. Forgery is never attempted by an uneducated man. If his knowledge of the law has served to preserve him from the penalties of its actual infraction before, it has not been from the lack of will to make a profit at the expense of society; but from a fear of the attendant punishment. He has previously done many a dishonest act, and the desire of profiting still more largely, has at last banished all thought of prudence from his mind, and he breaks the law. His nature had been corrupted long before.

Transportation is a fit punishment for such an individual, as also for the practised coiner: but this latter has frequently accomplices, more particularly in the offence of uttering counterfeit coin, whose character is of a very different description—foolish victims of the clever principals. Compulsory Emigration would deter and yet improve such persons. They are generally idle characters, who if they once learn that money can be gained more easily

by crime than by labor, are easily tempted to the commission of a first offence; but who, if not removed from the country, would pursue their vicious course farther, until they were at last detected in the commission of a great crime. Imprisonment is worse than useless in such cases.

SECTION IV.

4. *Offences against the person.*5. *Malicious offences against property.*

We now enter upon a second great division of crime. The fourth class consists of murder; manslaughter; rape; abduction and assaults against the person, of various degrees of enormity. In number these again show a decrease from those we have last considered. The convictions in 1843, in the county of York, amounted only to 87 cases, many of these being assaults of a comparatively trivial nature, for which but a short period of imprisonment was inflicted.

The fifth class includes the various kinds of arson; destroying machinery; killing and maiming cattle; and other malicious offences against property of a like kind. Of these the convictions in the same county and year amounted to only 11.

I have been induced to consider these two classes together, since although differing very much in degree, they are in many instances the same in character. In revenge I seek to do my neighbor an injury; if a stronger man I assault him; if weaker I injure his property; but whichever of these alternatives be taken, the criminal is a very different person from those we have formerly treated of. The animus which urges to the committal of larceny or robbery is personal advantage,—the animus in the other is the delight of occasioning a loss of life, or limb, or property to the individual injured. A thief is led into crime by the hope of gain, but would gladly receive the amount in pounds sterling, without having to undergo the labor attending the commission of the crime added to the chance of punishment upon detection;—the offender

against the person or the malicious injurer of property would often put himself into considerable personal peril, and sustain great pecuniary loss for the sake of obtaining his desired revenge.

With respect to the punishment now in force for the greater crimes of the fourth class, I have no observation to make. The question of the expediency of capital punishment in any case, has been so largely discussed, that it would be unnecessary to argue it here, nor would so small a treatise allow space for it. In practice there is seldom an execution in this country for any other crime than that of murder, and at present at least, no one has been able to devise any effectual substitute for capital punishment in this case. In others, where this awful sentence is recorded, it is generally commuted for transportation for life, and by a recent statute the same punishment may now by law be inflicted in many cases which used to be capital.

In determining on an adequate punishment for these offences, the difficulties are, that on the one hand it must be so severe as to deter a man from its commission, even when under the influence of excited passion; on the other, it ought in its nature to be such as to lead to an amendment, if possible, in the temperament of the offender. Short of death, transportation for life is, in its consequences, the most dreadful punishment; and the power of inflicting it must still be left with the judge, never to be inflicted in these cases unless the most urgent necessity demands it. Success may possibly attend the new orders of Lord Stanley; but hitherto every official document from Norfolk Island shows that by removing men of this description to a place where public opinion exercises no control, and where hardship and suffering irritate the mind, fuller sway is given to their before ill-governed passions and appetites. Again to repeat those dreadful words before quoted, "when a man comes to this island he loses the heart of a man, and gets the heart of a beast." Upon criminals, such as these the hope of worldly prosperity is not likely to operate:—unaccustomed to self-control, on the first opportunity they will again seek the gratification of their passions—again plunge into crime—encounter

re-transportation as the penalty,—become wild ferocious animals in the hopelessness of Norfolk Island, and having become worse instead of better in consequence of the penalties inflicted by social law, will at last finish by meriting and suffering capital punishment: a consummation, as it appears from official documents, not unfrequently *sought* by the wretched convict.

But how will such a criminal best be reformed? He is not in general a calculator; self-interest will therefore have little influence upon him, and the prospect of raising himself in the world would not counterbalance long habits of vice, and ungoverned passion. The removing him to another country where the standard of civilization is lower than in this, although the means of employment may be greater, would be hurtful rather than beneficial in this case: but a separation from the world, in some place where the mind of the prisoner could be educated, moral discipline enforced, religious instruction afforded, and medical superintendence bestowed, might probably be successful after a time. When a man's passions can no longer be controlled by his reason, the first step has been taken towards insanity, and if their outbreak be such as to lead him to infringe the law, he should be treated as laboring under incipient disease of this kind. It is not by this intended that there should be an acquittal on the ground of insanity, but such criminals should upon conviction be removed to prison, there to remain for not less than twelve months, and longer until her majesty be pleased to release them, which should be on a certificate of confirmed good conduct from the visiting justices, on the testimony of the chaplain and governor. Their numbers have been shown to be small, the expense therefore would not be great: the prisons as they now exist would suffice, for the crowds of offenders which at present fill them would be otherwise disposed of: and upon their release from prison after so long a discipline it is not likely that they would repeat crimes against which the feeling of society is strong,—which a watchful police renders hazardous,—and which it is to be hoped, their own better regulated nature would recoil from.

But this kind of punishment would be inapplicable to

individuals who from ill-reasoning on one point, though perhaps their general character may not have been bad, have been induced to destroy property. They are destroyers of barns and machinery, but their nature has not perhaps been corrupted by any great moral depravity: frequently we have proof to the contrary on the trial: but they have thought that they were carrying out a great principle of good for their class, and in order to enunciate it, they have thought themselves obliged—herein following the example of many politicians of a higher grade—to occasion a lesser evil. It is impossible under any other hypothesis to explain the fact, of the entire absence of personal enmity against the farmer injured, shown in the fire cases in Suffolk lately, in the destruction of machinery in Lancashire last year, and in Kent in 1830. They are suffering great privations, they know no other means of awakening public attention to their wants, they therefore make this their voice, thinking perhaps that they are remedying at the same time some of their grievances by the means they have taken to make them known. Actual transportation is too severe a punishment for these men, excepting when the offence has been committed under aggravated circumstances; imprisonment in the mode above suggested would fail, for by a conviction for a crime of this nature such a brand is fixed on the brow of the offender that no farmer would afterwards employ him, and his lot in England would be wretched. Compulsory emigration for life is what I would propose as a penalty for crimes of this description.

For the lesser kinds of offence in this class which betoken the irregularity of youth rather than depravity of character, imprisonment with hard labor is the best punishment. It deters this species of offender; and if the numbers in the prisons are lessened, and the worst class of criminals removed, but little contamination, if any, could be apprehended, and the character of the prisoner at least would not be deteriorated.

SECTION V.

1. *Other offences not included in the above classes.*

These, with one exception,—perjury,—are of a nature to which the concluding remarks of the last section are applicable:—for perjury, transportation should be retained. The man who wilfully gives false testimony differs but little from him who uses a false plate or die. His punishment should be the same.

I have now reviewed all the offences of which our law takes cognizance. In many of the punishments alterations have been suggested, which are put forward in the belief that they will bear the two great tests which ought to be applied to all provisions of this nature, *i. e.*, that while they would lead to the prevention of crime, they would at the same time reform the criminal.

Hitherto, with very rare exceptions, no one has paid any attention to the general condition of offenders against the laws. Some great crime perhaps concentrates for a time a morbid interest upon the individual who has committed it, but this is the result of mere curiosity for the most part, which is soon exhausted, and no beneficial result ensues: the subject is in itself a distasteful one; no man likes to contemplate the degradation of his species, and the malefactor is, by general consent, put out of remembrance. It is only thus that the system of wholesale transportation, with all its moral evils, could have gone on so long without an attempt at any amendment: year after year thousands of wretches were removed from England to perpetrate the same or worse crimes elsewhere, and the public was satisfied. The Archbishop of Dublin at last laid open its horrors before the lords, many of whom acknowledged that they were unaware till then of what had been the state of things, and to his efforts must be attributed the present improvement in the system. To a certain degree, therefore, he has been successful, but more, much more, remains to be done.

It is not enough that the wealthy classes, like the Pharisee of old, self-satisfied in their abstinence from a

certain set of crimes, in their compliance with the usages of society, and in their general intelligence, "thank God that they are not as so many other men are," and suppose that there is nothing to amend in a state of society which yearly condemns thousands to suffer the penalty of crimes to which that very state of society has tempted them, and against which it has provided no safeguard. Wealth and power were not given either to enable the possessors to enjoy in greater abundance the pleasures of sense, or even to sit down in quiet comfort, well pleased with themselves that they have no temptation to do evil. Riches and greatness are the talents which the lord who went on a far journey confided to his servants, to be used so as to bring him at his coming an ample return. Let the landlord at that day be able to greet his greater master with "Lord, thou gavest me abundance, and lo! I have used it to enlarge thy kingdom; here are the tenants and the laborers whom I have lived among and instructed, as well by kind words as example—they are good Christians and happy men—let them be my companions for eternity!" Let the princely merchant and wealthy manufacturer be able to reply, "Lord, I had not extensive estates confided to me, but I have had numerous dependents. I have forborne to enrich myself as much as I might have done, in order to afford to these people the instruction and the comforts without which man sinks into the brute. Here are my work people, my porters, my clerks—thy talent has gained ten!" Were such the rule instead of the exception, we should not need to build jails and workhouses. But this happy state of things cannot be expected yet, even if all were as much alive to the duties of their high station as, I thank God, many are;—for changes in society go on slowly. In the mean time it only remains that legislators do their duty too; and when they find a poor wretch steeped to the lips in misery and guilt, let them look with compassion upon him, however low he may be fallen; and for His sake in whose IMAGE he was made, endeavor to rescue him from degradation and sin, and restore the lost prodigal to his Father and theirs.

APPENDIX.

Convict Discipline. Ordered by the House of Commons to be printed, 3 April, 1843.

COPY of a DISPATCH from Lord *Stanley* to Lieutenant-Governor Sir *John Franklin*.

Downing-street, 25 November, 1842.

SIR,

I AVAIL myself of the departure from this country of the newly appointed secretary at Van Diemen's land, as the most convenient opportunity I could find for conveying to you those instructions on the subject of convict discipline, which you will for some time past have been expecting to receive. The delay which has occurred in settling a question at once so arduous and so important, has been inevitable; and even yet it is not in my power to announce the completion of the measures requisite for enabling you to carry into effect the views of the ministers of the crown. But I do not regret a postponement which has enabled me and my colleagues carefully to examine the ground we propose to occupy, aided by all the information to be drawn from the Report of the recent Committee of the House of Commons, and from the evidence on which that report proceeded; and from other channels of intelligence which have been opened to us since the close of the labors of that committee.

In proceeding to signify to you the conclusions to which Her Majesty's Government have been led by this course of inquiry, I propose to sacrifice to perspicuity every object which would interfere with it; and to that end I will state at the outset what are the topics to which I propose to address myself, and what is the order in which I am about to notice them.

First, then, I will endeavor to state what are the general principles by which Her Majesty's Government will be guided in the management of the convict population in the penal colonies.

Secondly, I will consider, in their order, each of the five stages through which a convict will have to pass from the commencement of his sentence until he shall attain (as often as it may be attainable) a pardon either absolute or conditional.

Thirdly, I will indicate what are the legal instruments to be completed, and what the official appointments and arrangements to be made before those general principles can be carried entirely into effect; and those specific rules fully executed. Hence you will readily collect to what extent this dispatch can be taken as an instruction for your immediate guidance, and how far it is to be understood as merely preparatory to the introduction of the new system of convict discipline.

Reverting to this distribution of the topics to be noticed, I shall first explain what are the general principles by which her Majesty's Government propose to be guided in the management of the convict population in the penal colonies.

You will readily anticipate that I am not about to enter into any abstract or speculative inquiries on the subject of the punishment of crime, or as to the particular form of punishment administered in our penal colonies. My object is merely to state some broad conclusions which it is necessary to premise, in order to render intelligible the objects of the more minute regulations which will follow. Her Majesty's Government, then, regard it as indispensable, that every convict transported, whether for a longer or a shorter period, should actually undergo that punishment without either pardon or mitigation for some predetermined period, bearing, in each case, a proportion to the length of the sentence. We further think that it should be reserved to the Queen herself to make any exception from this rule; and that the royal prerogative of mercy should not be delegated to the Governor of the colony in such terms as would enable him to relax it. We do not, however, contemplate a state of things in which the con-

vict, suffering under the sentence of the law, should ever be excluded from the hope of amending his condition by blameless or meritorious behavior, or from the fear of enhancing the hardships of it by misconduct. On the contrary, to keep alive an invigorating hope, and a salutary dread at every stage of the progress of the prisoner from the commencement to the close of his punishment, appears to us to be an indispensable part of the discipline to which he should be subjected. Further, we contemplate the necessity of subjecting every convict to successive stages of punishment, decreasing in rigor at each successive step until he reaches that ultimate stage in which he shall be capable of a pardon either absolute or conditional, though not ever entitled to demand that indulgence of right. It is, moreover, our opinion that the transition from one stage of punishment to another less severe should be withheld from any convict who, by misconduct, may have forfeited his claim to such mitigation. On the other hand, we think that a course of meritorious or blameless conduct in any one stage should entitle the convict in any future stage of punishment to such proportionate relaxations of the severity of his condition as may be compatible with his continuance in it; and that such good conduct should ultimately have a favorable effect whenever the question of granting a pardon may be ripe for decision. To these general principles it is to be added, that in the case of certain classes of convicts sentenced to transportation for not more than seven years, her majesty's government propose that the first stage of punishment should be undergone, not in the colony, but in a penitentiary in this country; and that the convicts should, at the expiration of a given time, be sent to the colony, there to enter on such stage of penal discipline as may in each particular case be indicated by the Secretary of State for the Home Department.

I should leave unnoticed the most important of all the general principles to which the ministers of the crown look, so far as respects the convict himself and the society in which he is to live, if I omitted to add that we anticipate from a systematic course of moral and religious instruction, which the congregation of the convicts in

masses will afford, the means of applying such salutary influences as may best qualify them for entering on the temptations of an independent course of life, and may induce them to betake themselves to industrious and useful pursuits.

Secondly, such being the general principles by which her majesty's government propose to be guided, I will next consider in their order, each of the five stages through which a convict will have to pass. For the sake of distinctness, they may be described as follows: 1. Detention at Norfolk Island. 2. The Probationary Gang. 3. The Probation Passes. 4. Tickets of Leave; and, 5. Pardons.

1st. Detention in Norfolk Island will be the invariable consequence of all sentences of transportation for life; and will also be applied to the more aggravated cases of convicts sentenced to any term not less than fifteen years. Four years will be the longest period, and two years the shortest period, for which any convict will be sentenced to detention at Norfolk Island. In each case the Secretary of State for the Home Department will, between these limits, indicate the length of time for which the convict is to be detained at that place. This statement is, however, applicable only to the cases of convicts transported direct from the United Kingdom. It will be left to the discretion of the Governors of New South Wales and of Van Diemen's Land respectively, to transport convicts under similar colonial sentences, either to Norfolk Island, or to the penal settlement of Port Arthur in Van Diemen's Land, of which the regulations and discipline will be nearly similar.

Arrived at Norfolk Island, the convict will be employed at hard labor. No authority except that of the queen herself will be competent to abridge the time of his detention there. On the other hand, the misconduct of the convict in Norfolk Island may have the effect of prolonging his detention there indefinitely, within the limits of the term of his original sentence.

But although even good conduct on the part of the convict cannot abridge the duration of this part of his sentence, yet any one who, by a course of blameless or meritorious

behavior at Norfolk Island, shall have established a claim to favorable consideration, will have the benefit of that claim in the future stages of his career.

To estimate at the end of four years, or even two years, the good or the bad conduct which a convict may have observed through so long a period, would hardly be practicable, unless some system were adopted of daily or weekly notation of the conduct, whether meritorious or culpable, of each. At this distance, I do not propose to enter on topics so minute as these; they are more fitly matter for local regulation. But whatever regulation may be made, should have for its object to leave as little as possible to general and indistinct recollection, and to make the attestation of good or of bad conduct as much as possible a matter of cotemporary record.

Before I pass from the subject of detention at Norfolk Island, it will be convenient that I should notice in what manner it is proposed to encounter some of the difficulties which would seem to oppose this part of the general design.

At present, the whole convict discipline of Norfolk Island is under the charge of an officer engaged in the trial of a series of experiments suggested by himself. For reasons in no degree incompatible with the respect due to that gentleman, it is proposed to relieve him from that charge. An officer to be called the superintendent or commandant of Norfolk Island, will proceed to that place as soon as may be practicable, and will be the bearer of detailed instructions for his guidance in the discharge of his official duties.

This officer will, however, be placed under the immediate authority of the Governor of Van Diemen's Land. For that purpose the island will be detached from the Government of New South Wales, and annexed to the Van Diemen's Land Government.

To make clear room for the commencement of the new system at Norfolk Island, it will be necessary to remove from that place to Van Diemen's Land a large proportion of the prisoners who are already in confinement there. Such of them as were convicted in the United Kingdom should be thus disposed of, together with so many of

those convicted in New South Wales or Van Diemen's Land as Captain Maconochie, from his knowledge of their characters and conduct, may deem entitled by such a transfer, to be relieved from the severer discipline which will hereafter be introduced in Norfolk Island. When arrived at Van Diemen's Land, the present convict population of Norfolk Island should either be sent to Port Arthur, or placed in such one of the classes of convicts at Van Diemen's Land as may be most appropriate to the case of each person.

A proper military force will be stationed at Norfolk Island, and the convicts there will be employed under the direction of an officer of the Ordnance, in any necessary repair or enlargement of the barracks for the reception of that force. They will also be employed in preparing the necessary lodging for the reception of the total number of convicts whom it is intended to place on the island. Agricultural labor for their own subsistence will, of course, be an occupation which must be deemed of primary importance.

Norfolk Island must be regarded exclusively as a place of confinement. No person must be permitted to dwell there except the convicts, the persons employed in the superintendence of them, the families of those persons, and the military. The commandant must be armed with summary power to remove all persons who are not either convicts undergoing their sentence, or military in charge over them, reporting of course, to the Governor of Van Diemen's Land for his sanction, every such proceeding. These powers must be imparted to the commandant by law, and for that purpose an enactment must be proposed to the Legislative Council of Van Diemen's Land.

I anticipate that the total number of convicts who will be annually sent from this country to Norfolk Island will not exceed 1000, and that the total number of such convicts who will be ever resident there at any one time will not much exceed 3000. Some addition may be made by convicts sent to Norfolk Island from New South Wales or Van Diemen's Land. The number will not probably be large. But although any such Australian convicts may be detained at Norfolk Island until they shall have become

entitled to the probation pass, hereafter described, they must, on becoming so entitled, be removed to undergo the subsequent stages of punishment, the Van Diemen's Land convicts in New South Wales, and the New South Wales convicts in Van Diemen's Land.

The second stage of punishment is that of the probation gangs. These gangs will be assembled in Van Diemen's Land. They will be composed first of convicts who have passed through the period of detention at Norfolk Island, and secondly of convicts sentenced to transportation for a less term than life, who may be indicated by the Secretary of State for the Home Department as proper to be placed in this class. The probation gangs will be employed in the service of the Government, and, with rare exceptions, in the unsettled districts of the colony. No convict placed in the probation gang will pass less than one, or more than two years there, except in case of misconduct. Here, as in the case already mentioned, a cotemporary record should be preserved of the good or the bad conduct of the convict. Of good conduct the reward would be earned in the ulterior stages of his punishment. His bad conduct would be followed by the penalty of detention for a proportionate period in the probation gang.

The probation gangs will be employed in hard labor. But the labor of all should not be equally hard. Every gang should be broken into two or three divisions, distinguished from each other by such mitigations of toil or other petty indulgences as may be compatible with the condition of criminals suffering the punishment of their offences. By transference of the men from one of these divisions to the other, an effective system of rewards and penalties might be established, of which the enjoyment or the terror would be immediate. This system appears to be already in operation in Van Diemen's Land, and the regulations generally, in which, of course, modifications may from time to time be made by the local authorities, seem well adapted to their object.

An officer hereafter to be more particularly mentioned, who would have the title of Comptroller of Convicts, will have the general superintendence of the probation gangs,

and at his suggestion alone will relaxations or indulgences be granted to any member of them.

My present estimate is, that provision ought to be made for placing the probation gangs in Van Diemen's Land on a footing which will admit of the maintenance and employment of a number of convicts at one time, amounting to 8,000. This large number of prisoners may be divided as at present, into gangs of from 250 to 300 men each. They must be hutted, or quartered in situations where they can undertake and execute in concert, works of public utility. With a view to co-operation in such works and in order that they may live under one common superintendence and control, their settlements must be in the vicinity of each other; while, on the other hand, that vicinity must not be so close as to admit of easy communication between different gangs, or any concert between them to resist the authority under which they are placed;

In subordination to the comptroller there will be employed, for the superintendence of the probation gangs, first, religious teachers, being clergymen of the Established Church or Wesleyan methodists, or Roman-catholic priests. Every such teacher will be liable to immediate suspension from office by the comptroller, subject to the Governor's ultimate decision.

There will also be attached to each probation gang an overseer, with such subordinate officers as may be necessary for giving effect to his authority. But until the comptroller himself shall have been appointed, I shall abstain from entering upon any detailed statement of the extent of this establishment.

It will be the duty of the comptroller to establish all necessary rules for the employment of the probation gang. All such rules must be laid before the Governor, who will be authorized either to disallow them altogether, or to suspend the execution of them provisionally.

Weekly returns will be made by every overseer and by the religious teacher to the comptroller, in which report a statement is to be comprised of the good or bad conduct of every member of each of the probation gangs. From such reports will be compiled periodically some account of the character of each man, reduced to some scale of

numerical notation, from which may at any time be drawn an estimate of the claims of each on the indulgence of the Crown, or of the just liability of each to an enhanced rigor of punishment.

After a convict shall have passed through the probation gang, he will next proceed to the third stage of punishment, and become the holder of a probation pass. But no convict may enter on this stage except on two conditions. Of these, the first is the obtaining from the comptroller of convicts a certificate of general good conduct, to be drawn from the records already mentioned; and secondly, the having fully served in the probation gang during the whole of the period for which the convict had been placed there.

The essential distinction between the third stage and those which preceded it will be that the holder of a probation pass may, with the consent of the Government, engage in any private service for wages, such wages to be paid and accounted for as subsequently mentioned.

The contract for private service is to be void unless made with the Governor's sanction, either previous or subsequent, and is, by the terms of it, to be terminable at the Governor's pleasure.

The holders of probation passes are to be divided into three classes. The difference between the members of the three classes will consist in the different rules under which they will be placed regarding their hiring and wages. Those who may be in the first or lowest class must obtain the previous consent of the Governor to any contract of service. Those who are in the second or third classes may engage in any service without such previous sanction, provided that the engagement be immediately reported to the Governor for his subsequent sanction. Again the members of the first class will receive from their employers one-half only of their wages; the members of the second class two-thirds only of their wages; but the members of the third class the whole of what they may so earn. The wages kept back from the members of first and second classes must be paid by the employer into the savings bank. For the expenditure of the wages actually paid to him, the holder of the probation pass, of whatever

class, must account when required by the comptroller of convicts, or by any person acting under his authority.

The holders of probation passes are to be arranged in the three classes already mentioned by the Governor, at his discretion. He will have regard to length of service, to good or bad conduct, and to every other circumstance which should influence his decision; and he may, if he shall see cause, degrade the holder of such a pass from a higher to a lower class.

In case of gross misconduct, the Governor may resume the probation pass, and send back the convict to serve in the probation gang. But whenever he shall have recourse to any such exercise of authority, it will be his duty to make a special report to the Secretary of State for his information, and for his sanction of the proceedings.

The proportion of the wages earned by the holder of a probation pass, and paid by the employer into the savings bank, is there to be detained until the convict shall have been transferred into the class of holders of tickets of leave, when, and not before, it is to be paid over to the convict. But in the event of a convict forfeiting his probation pass by misconduct, the whole amount of the deposit is to be forfeited to the queen. It will in each such case remain to be determined how far any part of the forfeiture may be subsequently remitted in favor of the convict himself in case of amendment, or in favor of his family if the convict should die before any remission of the forfeiture.

If the holder of a probation pass should be unable to obtain employment in any private service, he must return to the service of the government, to be employed without wages, receiving merely the ordinary rations of food and clothing. Such persons will not be worked in company with convicts in the probation gangs, nor will they be continued in the service of the government after they can obtain an eligible private service.

Holders of probation passes thus lapsing into the service of the government, must not be so employed, except in one or the other of the two following modes; that is, either, first, in the making and repair of roads, or secondly, as members of jobbing parties hired out by the govern-

ment, for the performance, under the direction of the comptroller of convicts, of agricultural labor for the behoof of some private person. Such jobbing parties for the performance of rural works by contract are to be composed exclusively of the holders of probation passes. The contracts are to be made by the comptroller, and all the earnings of the jobbing parties so employed are to be paid to the commissariat chest, to the credit of the Lords of the Treasury.

The prohibition of employing the holders of probation passes in the service of the government for hire, or of so employing them in any other mode of labor than one or the other of the two modes already indicated, must be considered as a peremptory and inflexible rule.

The holders of probation passes will be incompetent to maintain any suit or action against any person whatever. But at the instance of a person so situated the comptroller of convicts will sue his employer, if necessary, for the amount of any wages earned by the convict and unpaid. The holder of a probation pass will, in like manner, not be liable to any civil suit or action by any person. If the pass-holder should be indebted to his employer in any sum of money, the employer may, with the consent of the comptroller of convicts, but not otherwise, pay himself the amount of that debt by withholding from the convict any proportion of his earnings which, according to the preceding regulations, may be payable to the convict himself.

The holders of probation passes are all to be placed under the special superintendence of some magistrate residing in the district within which such pass-holders may be employed. Every pass-holder is to be inspected by such magistrate once at least in each month, and the magistrate is to make monthly reports to the comptroller of convicts of the result of every such inspection.

There is no absolute limit, saving only the continuance of the sentence, which must necessarily terminate the continuance of a convict in the class of holders of probation passes. The transition from that class into the class of holders of tickets of leave, is always to be a matter of grace and favor, and never a matter of strict right.

The fourth stage through which the convict must pass before obtaining a pardon is, that of the holders of tickets of leave. The essential condition of this class is, that they possess what may be termed a "probationary and revocable pardon," valid in the colony in which it is granted, but of no avail elsewhere.

No convict can obtain a ticket of leave before half of the term of the original sentence shall have expired. In the case of persons sentenced for life, that indefinite term shall, for the purpose of this computation, be counted as twenty-four years.

Further, no person may be transferred from the class of probation pass-holders into the class of ticket-of leave holders, until he shall have held the probation pass for a term equal to the difference between half the sentence and the shortest period at which, under that sentence, the convict might have arrived at the stage of a probation pass-holder. The rule thus stated with a view to precision, will at first sight appear obscure. An illustration will dispel that obscurity: Thus, suppose the case of a convict for life, or, as has already been explained, for twenty-four years; half of his sentence is twelve years; the shortest period at which, under his sentence, such a convict could have reached the stage of a probation pass-holder, would be six years, for he must have passed four at Norfolk Island, and two in the probation gang. Deduct those six years from the twelve years already mentioned, and there will remain six years; during which the convict must, according to the rule already given, hold his probation pass. More briefly, it may be stated thus, namely, that one-half of the term of the sentence must be passed in one or other of the three first stages of punishment. But supposing that by misconduct the length of the first or of the second stage may have been increased, no decrease will on that account be permitted in the third stage; on the contrary, in the case supposed the whole term of punishment in the three first classes would endure for a greater period than one-half of the original sentence.

The fifth and last stage which a convict can reach during the continuance of the term of his sentence is, that of

a pardon, conditional or absolute. It is almost superfluous to say that no one will be able to claim a pardon of right, but that it must in every instance be an act of pure grace and favor.

Pardons may be granted either by the queen directly, or by the governor in the exercise of the royal prerogative delegated to him for that express purpose. Her majesty will not, of course, fetter her own discretion as to the exercise of this power in favor of any convict during any stage of his punishment. But the delegation of the royal prerogative to the governor will be made in such terms as to deprive him of the power of granting pardons until the prescribed period of punishment in the three first stages shall have been undergone; nor will a pardon granted by the governor be of any avail beyond the limits of the Australian colonies. No convict will be capable of this indulgence until he shall have reached the stage of the holder of a ticket of leave.

Reverting to the arrangement already mentioned, it remains that I should indicate what are the legal instruments to be completed, and what are the official appointments and arrangements to be made, before the general principles already stated can be completely carried into effect, and the specific rules already laid down can be fully executed.

Under this head I have first to refer to the case of those convicts to whom expectations of a mitigated punishment have already been held out. To clear the ground effectually for the introduction of the system which it is proposed to introduce, the first step will be, to satisfy all the reasonable expectations which have already been excited, that so the convict population in future may be brought, without any exception, within the reach of the same general system of discipline. The Governor of Van Diemen's Land will therefore be authorized to make in favor of those prisoners who have passed through the first stage of probation in the gangs such relaxation of the penal discipline as he may deem expedient. The time so passed will be taken as part of that which they would otherwise be required to pass as holders of probation passes. They will be admitted into the class of probation

pass-holders as soon as the necessary change of the law shall permit them to acquire that indulgence.

Further, the rules already laid down are not to have a retrospective operation to the prejudice of those convicts already in the colony who may have conducted themselves so as to entitle them to expect the benefits held out under the existing regulations. In their favor the governor will be authorized so far to relax and mitigate the new system, as not to disappoint the hopes which they have been encouraged to form.

Thus much being provided for the past, it remains to consider how security can be best taken for the accomplishment of the future objects to which I have referred.

In the first place, a change in the statute law of this country will be necessary. Her majesty's government propose to recommend to Parliament to alter the statute 2 & 3 Will. 4, c. 62, so far as to vest in the queen the power of regulating whatever relates to the length of service, and the acquisition of property, by transported convicts.

A change in the royal commission and instructions will also be necessary, in order to define with greater precision the extent to which her majesty's prerogative of mercy will hereafter be delegated to the Governor of Van Diemen's Land. It may be requisite that a new and perhaps an enlarged establishment should be formed for the reception and management of convicts in Norfolk Island, and in Van Diemen's Land. I have already intimated that in Van Diemen's Land an officer is to be appointed with the title of "Comptroller General of Convicts." His duty will be to superintend the whole of this branch of the public service, acting, of course, in subordination to the governor, and according to the instructions of her majesty's government. The comptroller will not communicate with the governor through the colonial secretary, but directly, and in his own person. He will in effect be very nearly a second colonial secretary for this particular branch of the public service. He will be dispatched from this country, and will be paid by the lords of the treasury. Subordinate to the comptroller will be the whole body of officers employed in the convict department, whether for

the education or the religious instruction of the convicts, or as overseers, or otherwise.

It will be the duty of the comptroller to draw out and submit to the governor detailed regulations for the employment of the probation gangs, and otherwise for giving complete effect to the system already described. No such regulations will take effect without the governor's previous sanction. A periodical report must be transmitted by the comptroller, through the governor, to the secretary of state, of the condition of the convicts—of the working and progress of the system—of any defects or errors which experience may bring to light—of the best means for correcting and amending them—of the state and efficiency of the convict establishments, and of the expense connected with them—and of the methods by which economy and efficiency may be most effectually promoted. Great importance will be attached to the discharge of this duty with punctuality, exactness, and perspicuity, and it will be the especial duty of the comptroller to draw up his periodical reports in a plain and methodical form, conveying all the requisite statistical information unembarrassed by any speculative disquisitions, and to support every recommendation for any amendment of the system, by a clear and brief exposition of the reasons, and by as minute an estimate as possible of the pecuniary and other consequences attendant on any such change.

Such is the general plan of convict discipline which I have to prescribe for your guidance. Until the contemplated Act of Parliament shall have passed, the new Royal Commission and Instructions issued, the requisite local laws enacted, and the proposed appointments made, you will, I am aware, be able but very imperfectly to execute these instructions. Immediate preparation may, however, be in progress for the execution of them, and especially it will be your duty to avoid, in future, raising any expectations or adopting any measure which would interfere with the introduction of this system at the earliest practicable period.

I have, &c.

(Signed) STANLEY.

COPY of a DISPATCH from Lord *Stanley*, to
Lieutenant-Governor Sir *John Franklin*.

Downing-street, 25 November 1842.

SIR,

In my dispatch of this date, No. 175, I have communicated to you very fully the views of Her Majesty's Government as to the future conduct of the system of transportation in reference to male convicts. An equally important, and in some respects a more difficult subject, is the application of the same sentence to the cases of female convicts.

The difficulties are greater, inasmuch as those with whom we have to deal are in general fully as depraved as the male convicts, while it is impossible to subject them to the same course of discipline; and thus no alternative seems to be left but either to detain them in actual confinement, or to permit them to enter, in some mode or other, into the mass of the population, where the knowledge of their former characters subjects them to continual degradation; and having neither sound principles, nor feelings of self-respect to protect them, and surrounded by peculiar temptations arising out of the peculiar state of the population, it is hardly to be wondered that they become, with few exceptions, at once reckless and hopeless, and plunge deeper and deeper into misery and crime.

Looking to the alarming disproportion which exists, and must continue to exist, in Van Diemen's Land between the sexes, it would obviously be the policy and the wish of the Government to carry into actual execution the sentence of transportation on females as generally as possible: but I cannot but feel that the Government are bound, at the same time, to give to these unhappy beings every chance for reformation, and that they incur a serious responsibility by inflicting upon them a sentence which rather furnishes additional incentives to vice, than encouragement and facilities for reformation; and I am compelled to express my fears that female transportation, as it has hitherto been conducted, has partaken more of the former than of the latter character.

According to the present system, it appears that on the arrival of a female convict ship, notice is given to parties desirous to apply for assigned servants; and that the females so applied for are immediately transferred to the service of their employers, while the remainder are detained in the female factory.

It may appear extraordinary, looking to the great scarcity of females, and the great demand for their services in Van Diemen's Land, that there should, in ordinary circumstances, be any "remainder" left upon the hands of the Government; yet I am informed, that not only is this the case, but that great difficulty is experienced in disposing of these females. If this be so, it is a fact which marks most strongly the general feelings of the population, and the almost insuperable difficulties with which these poor creatures have to contend in the attempt, if ever made, to return to a better and more respectable line of life.

The system of assignment in regard to male convicts has been loudly and unequivocally condemned; I confess, I think myself, too loudly and too indiscriminately, though I am not insensible to the many and obvious objections which may be urged against it. But whatever these objections may be, they apply with at least equal weight to the case of females, aggravated, as it seems to me, by other and peculiar objections, which will readily suggest themselves. I have no doubt that the local government do their utmost to throw the shield of their protection around these women; but the difficulty of obtaining admission for them into respectable situations is notorious; and assigned to the less scrupulous and less moral portion of the community, it is not unreasonable to suppose that they must be continually exposed to criminal solicitation, to grievous oppression, and often to personal violence; while, from their previous character, little confidence is placed, or can be placed, in the truth of their complaints, if they should venture, or be disposed to complain to superior authority.

Yet I am unwilling to believe but that even among these women there are some, perhaps even many, who may be capable of better things; on whom instruction, careful superintendence, and, above all, the stimulus of hope,

might work beneficial effects, and make their sentence, instead of being a curse to themselves and to the colony, contributory to the advantage and benefit of both.

• But in anxiously considering this question with my colleagues, we are decidedly of opinion that no real amount of good can be effected, without putting an absolute stop to the system of assignment of females; and I am therefore to convey to you the instructions of Her Majesty's Government, that you do not permit the future assignment of any female convicts who may arrive subsequent to the receipt of this dispatch, or who may not have been already assigned.

I am aware that this may occasion, in the first instance, some, and perhaps a considerable increase of expense; but Her Majesty's Government are of opinion that the interests involved are too important and too urgent, to allow such considerations to interfere with the immediate adoption of a system recommended by motives of justice and humanity.

You will therefore consider yourself authorized, in respect of females who may hereafter arrive, either to hire buildings for their confinement and superintendence apart from those who are already in the colony; or, if that cannot be accomplished at a reasonable expense, to detain the convict ship in which they may arrive, and in which some arrangements will have been made for their classification, and to allow them to remain on board until you shall be able to effect more permanent arrangements.

All accounts which I have received concur in representing the state of the female factories at Hobart Town and Launceston as exceedingly discreditable; as crowded to such an extent, as not only to have rendered it necessary to abandon all attempts at employing the greater portion of the prisoners, but as defying all classification, and subjecting every class of offenders to the contamination of mutual bad example, in rooms so crowded, that, according to very high authority, it has occurred that the whole of the prisoners have been unable to lie down at one time, and that a portion have been kept standing while others rested.

In these factories are confined convicts who are unable

to obtain assignments, together with those who have been returned from assignment for the purposes of punishment, and those who being with child from illicit connections are thrown back on the hands of the government; and who, after their delivery, and being attended to at the public expense, again go forth, leaving their children a burthen on the public through the whole period of infancy and childhood, to return again in many cases, under similar circumstances.

This is a system which it is necessary altogether to remodel; while it continues, the evil which it engenders is constantly perpetuating and increasing itself. No respectable person will take a servant out of such a school: those who go out from it, go out to all sorts of temptations and vice, and again return, adding by their numbers to the crowds which render discipline impossible, and by their language and example, to the mass of vice which prevents the inmates from being healthily absorbed into the population.

I proceed to state to you the manner in which Her Majesty's Government propose to deal with a state of things so fearful, and requiring so urgently a prompt and effectual remedy.

It is our intention that measures should be adopted, with the least possible delay, for the construction, in a healthy situation, inland, and at a distance certainly not less than twenty miles from Hobart Town, of a penitentiary, upon the most approved plan, capable of containing at least 400 female prisoners. Instructions have been given to the Inspectors of Prisons in England to prepare the plan of such a building, which will be constructed at the expense of the Home Government. Immediately on the receipt of this dispatch, you will in concurrence with your council, institute inquiries as to the best site for such a prison; taking into consideration the healthiness of the situation, constant and easy access to good water, facilities of transport of building materials, and especially the neighborhood of stone and timber; but above all, the former. When, in conjunction with your council, you shall have decided on the site, you will immediately report to me your selection, and the reasons which have

influenced you in making it; but you will not think it necessary to await my approval before you commence such preparations as do not require that you should have the plan before you. It is necessary, therefore, that I should impress upon you the propriety of well considering every circumstance, before you incur the responsibility of making a selection on which so much depends.

When you shall have decided, you will communicate with the director of the probation gangs, and remove thither as large a number of convicts as can be safely housed and usefully employed, and occupy them in felling timber, quarrying stone, and all the more laborious work which will be required for the construction of the new penitentiary.

When the plans shall have been furnished to Her Majesty's Government and approved by them, they shall be sent out, together with such persons as it may be thought proper to select here for the purpose of superintending their execution.

To this penitentiary, when completed, it is the intention of Her Majesty's Government, that every female convict on her arrival, without exception, should be sent for a period of not less than six months.

It is hoped that considerable improvement has of late taken place in the management and discipline of female convict ships. It will be the endeavor of Her Majesty's Government still farther to improve the reformatory system on board, and to continue it, and keep alive the good feelings which it may have produced, after the arrival of the convicts on shore. I shall, in conjunction with the Secretary of State for the Home Department, endeavor to engage the services of competent persons to undertake the superintendence of this new establishment, who will be furnished with detailed rules for their guidance and for the conduct of the penitentiary, in which we shall endeavor, as much as possible, to surround the convicts with attendants of their own sex.

I have already stated to you the intention of Her Majesty's Government to apply to Parliament without delay for an amendment of the Act 2 and 3 W. 4, which has hitherto prevented the issuing of tickets of leave to female

convicts until the expiration of a considerable period of their sentence. We propose, when that act shall have been amended, that every female convict who shall have conducted herself properly on board ship, and during the six months of her imprisonment, shall obtain, not a ticket of leave in the first instance, but a probation pass, upon the same principles which I have already explained to you in reference to the male convicts; that the contract of service shall be entered into at the penitentiary itself, with the consent of the convict, and subject to the approbation of the governor. It will be expected that in all cases the employer should be bound to afford to the convict his personal protection in removing her to the place of her service.

During the whole period of the six months constant reports will be made, and retained, as to the conduct of the prisoners; and no prisoner will be allowed the privilege of a probation pass, unless her conduct on the whole shall have been satisfactory. It may be superfluous for me to add, that it is intended to regulate the gradual advance of the females through the stages of probation passes and tickets of leave, on the same principles which are directed to be applied to male convicts; with the same inducements to good conduct, and similar penalties attached to bad, during each stage of the process.

It is hoped, and believed, that by regulations such as I have described, an incentive to good conduct will be held out to the convict from the very first, in the hope not only of escaping from the coercion of prison discipline, but in that, which she can hardly have in any case under the present system, of redeeming her character, and being re-admitted, after a graduated system of probation, into respectable and virtuous society.

We hope also, that the knowledge of these precautions on the part of the government will tend materially to diminish the reluctance of respectable colonists to engage the services of female convicts; a reluctance which it is obvious, on the present system, nothing but absolute necessity can overcome on the part of any persons with whom it can be desirable to place the convicts. We are the rather led to indulge this hope, because we are in-

formed, on the high authority of the late colonial secretary, that there is even now no difficulty in obtaining employment for females with tickets of leave; and that the instances are very rare in which tickets of leave have been again forfeited by females who have been fortunate enough to obtain them.

However painful may be the condition of those unhappy women who may now be undergoing the sentence of transportation, I feel it absolutely essential to the hopes of success under the new system, that no transfer should take place from the existing factories to the intended penitentiary; at the same time, I am very anxious that the inmates of the former should not be left in their present hopeless condition; and I have therefore to instruct you to cause immediate inquiry to be made into the present state of the factories both at Hobart Town and at Launceston, and to endeavor to ascertain the practicability, even in their present crowded condition, of improving the classification, and effecting a more complete separation between those who may seem wholly irreclaimable and those of whom better hopes may be entertained. You will be authorized to hold out to the latter and even to the former, the hope, that when the law allows it, probation passes, the nature of which you will cause to be explained to them, may be granted to them, but that such indulgence, and still more the higher one of tickets of leave, will be dependent wholly on their conduct, and on their ability, consequent on such conduct, to obtain employment.

If you shall succeed by these means in diminishing the existing pressure on the factories, you will endeavor, by improved arrangements, to make them, what I fear they are not now in any degree, places at once of punishment, of employment, and of reformation; and you will constantly bear in your own mind, and endeavor to impress on those of the convicts, that while the degradation of assignment is finally put an end to, the privilege of employment in private service can only be the consequence, the reward, and the encouragement of good conduct.

When the new system shall be in operation, it is to be understood that the penitentiary about to be built is to be devoted exclusively to the newly arrived; that the places

of punishment will be the factories; and that those who having obtained probation passes, or tickets of leave, will, if they forfeit them, be returned, not to the penitentiary, but to the severer discipline of the factory; for the regulation of which, in such a sense, it will be necessary to provide.

Under the system which we propose, it is calculated that six hundred females annually may be expected to pass through a penitentiary capable of containing four hundred at one time; and should it happily succeed, as, with God's blessing, we may reasonably hope that it may, the government will act on the principle of carrying into effect, almost universally, the sentence of female transportation, in the belief that by so doing, under proper restrictions, they will be conferring a benefit on the colony, at the same time that they give to the convicts themselves the best prospect of regaining character and station, both of which in this country would be merely hopeless, and, I fear, at present even more so in Van Diemen's Land.

I have not entered in this dispatch into minute details. I have rather desired to put you fully in possession of the views and intentions of Her Majesty's Government as to a system which cannot be brought into immediate operation, but for the adoption of which it is desirable that immediate preparation should be made; and I feel assured that the vital importance of the subject will render it quite unnecessary for me to commend it to your immediate and anxious attention.

(Signed)

I have, &c.
STANLEY.

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No. XI.

CHRISTIAN SECTS

IN THE

NINETEENTH CENTURY.

IN

A SERIES OF LETTERS TO A LADY.

~~~~~  
"By this shall all men know that ye are my disciples if ye  
have love one to another."—JOHN xiii. 35.  
~~~~~

PHILADELPHIA:
LEA AND BLANCHARD.
1846.

PHILADELPHIA :
T. K. AND P. G. COLLINS,
PRINTERS.

PREFACE.

THE following letters grew out of a conversation between one of the editors of the "Small Books," and a lady of his acquaintance; and as there are probably many who have felt the want of the information they contain, it has been thought that by publishing them in a collected form they may be useful. The views of the writer are sufficiently explained in the letters themselves. All lament the small sum of Christian charity to be found among religionists in general, but few when they begin to write have kept clear of a severity of comment which but prolongs differences. The writer, himself a member of the Church of England, is anxious to show that it is possible to be attached to one persuasion without imputing either folly or ill intention to others; and it is with a view of promoting the loving fellowship of all whom God disdains not to create and support, that this slight sketch is given to the world.

CHRISTIAN SECTS

IN THE

NINETEENTH CENTURY.

LETTER I.

You some time ago requested me to give you the result of my inquiries into the tenets of the different religious sects which I had been acquainted with; and respecting which we had at different times conversed. In the time which has since elapsed I have been endeavoring, both to ascertain them more completely, and to compare them with what I conceive to be the true spirit of Christianity; but the subject has so grown as I proceeded, that even now I can only give you a very short, and I fear, in some cases, an imperfect notion of them. Yet the subject is one of deep interest; and as I feel convinced that if we looked a little closer into the differences between the established church and those who separate from it, both parties would find them smaller and less important than they imagine, and that Christian charity would be increased by the examination, I do not shrink from the task, however inadequately I may execute it.

I propose therefore to show you by extracts from the works of the principal writers among the different religious sects, how they all agree in most of the fundamental doctrines of Christianity; at the same time that I point out the evil consequences which I conceive would ensue were some of the tenets *fully carried out* into practice: and also to state wherein their peculiar opinions appear to me to be opposed to "the truth as it is in Christ Jesus," so far

as to prevent me from adopting them; though I can fully believe that those who hold these opinions in the abstract, may, notwithstanding, be excellent practical Christians.

Firmly attached as I am to the Church of England, whose form of worship (allowing for the imperfections which naturally cling to all human institutions), I consider preferable to any other; I can still see much to admire in other persuasions and other ceremonies, mixed up, though it be, with some imperfections and error; and my love to the established church does not blind me to some matters which might be better otherwise, and which I shall point out as I proceed.

"Of all the Christian graces," says a quaint writer, "zeal is the most apt to turn sour;" and the observation is no less true than it is sad, for men too seldom remember that they must add to their faith knowledge, and that both are of no avail without the crowning gift of charity,* or, in other words, brotherly love for all mankind. The real Christian, it seems to me, should imitate the liberality of St. Paul, who, after having been bred up in the habits of the "strictest sect" of the Jews, scrupled not to quit all his former prejudices, in order to preach Christ to the Gentiles, without disgusting them by ceremonies which were no fundamental part of the religion he taught, and was content to become "as a Jew, that he might gain the Jews, and to them that were without law, to become as without law (being not without law to God), that he might by all means save some."†

We are too apt to hold each other accountable for all the consequences which can be logically deduced from an opinion, however extreme they may be: and then having persuaded ourselves that those abstract tenets

* *αγαπη*, which is the word generally translated *charity* in the New Testament, means *affectionate regard*. The distinction between charity and almsgiving is well laid down by St. Clement of Alexandria. "Charity," says he, "leads to the sharing our good things with others; but this is not in itself charity, but only our outward sign of that feeling."

† See 1 Cor. ix. 19, 20.

which, by straining them to an extreme point, *may* have an evil effect, *must* have an evil effect on all who profess them,—we avoid those who differ from us on religious subjects, because we have assumed that they are actually immoral by virtue of their opinions; and thus we miss the opportunity of convincing ourselves of our mistake by a more intimate knowledge of their lives. “By their fruits ye shall know them,” says our Lord; but we seldom approach them closely enough to see the fruits.

If we would be content to sink minor differences, and be satisfied that “in every nation he that feareth God and worketh righteousness is accepted with him,” we should soon meet on better terms; for we do not hold at a distance from those on earth whom we expect to meet in heaven; and thanks be to God, there is no religious persuasion that cannot boast of many such as Cornelius.

St. Paul recommends to the churches that they be “kindly affectioned one towards another, in honor preferring one another:”* “by this shall men know that ye are my disciples,” says our Great Exemplar, “if ye have love one to another;” but alas! if we contemplate what is called the Christian world, where shall we find Christ’s *true* disciples? Grievous indeed it is, as has been well observed, that that religion, which “should most correct and sweeten men’s spirits, sours and sharpens them the most.” But surely “we have not so learned Christ.” Let us for a moment contemplate His conduct towards those who differed from him in religious opinions; his compassion towards them; his meek reproofs not only to the Sadducees and the Samaritans, but even to the more hardened; † and then let us turn to our own hearts

* Rom. xii. 10.

† “No national prejudices, no religious differences could hinder our Saviour from doing good. We should consider that men’s understandings naturally are not all of the same size and capacity, and that this difference is greatly increased by different education, different employments, different company and the like. No man is infallible. We are liable to errors, perhaps, as much as others. The very best men may sometimes

and confess with shame that we have fallen miserably short of that charity without which "whosoever liveth is counted dead before God."

So clear is the command to exercise universal benevolence, that whatever obscurity there may be in other parts of Scripture, however men, even wise ones, may differ as to the real signification of certain passages in the Bible, *here* at least there can be no caviling. It is intelligible to the most ignorant as well as the most learned, so that "the wayfaring man, though a fool, shall not err therein."

Archbishop Tillotson relates of Mr. Gouge, an eminent nonconformist, that he allowed men to differ from him in opinions that were "*very dear* to him," and provided men did but "fear God and work righteousness," he loved them heartily, how distant soever from him in judgment about things less necessary: "in all which," observes the Archbishop, "he is very worthy to be a pattern to men of all persuasions." "I abhor two principles in religion," says William Penn in a letter to the same archbishop, "and pity them that own them. The first is obedience upon authority without conviction; and the other, destroying them that differ from me for God's sake; such a religion is without judgment, though not without truth. Union is best, if right; if not, charity."

I have given the opinion of these two eminent men of different persuasions, partly to show that the evil I complain of is one of long standing; partly to justify my own opinion as to the remedy; namely, the paying *more* attention to the fundamental doctrines of Christianity; *less* to those minor differences which, from the very obscurity of the texts on which they are founded, come more frequently under discussion, and thus, from a mental operation somewhat analogous to that of the laws of perspect-

differ in opinion, as St. Paul withstood St. Peter to the face; and if there was such a difference between two of the chiefest of the Apostles, well may there be between inferior mortals. About modes of faith there will always be dispute and difference; but in acts of mercy and kindness all mankind may and should agree."—*Newton*.

ive, seem large and important because they are close under our eyes, though they are in fact minute in comparison with those which we have not been examining so closely. Thus men inadvertently reverse the order of things, and zeal for the maintenance of peculiar tenets too often supersedes the far more important virtue of Christian benevolence, to the scandal of all good Christians, and the mockery of unbelievers.

The Quakers, in their address to James II. on his accession, told him that they understood he was no more of the established religion than themselves. "We therefore hope," said they, "that thou wilt allow us that liberty which thou takest thyself:" and it would be well if we took a hint from this, and reflected that we differ as much from other sects as they do from us,* and that the greatest heresy is, as a Christian Father declared it to be long ago—"a wicked life."

It is, however, needful to distinguish between the Christian spirit of forbearance towards those who differ from us in religious opinions, which Christ and his apos-

* "In fact, all the religious persecutions in the world, all the penalties and inflictions upon those who differ from ourselves, however conscientiously, take their rise from an imperfect and erroneous notion of what really constitutes the glory of God, and the manner in which we best can assist its display and extension. The angels at the birth of Christ sang that the glory of God was in unison with 'Peace on earth, and good will towards men.'—'No!' said the Schoolman, 'the glory of God consists in thinking of the Deity as we think.'—'No!' said the Inquisitor, 'the glory of God consists in worshiping as we prescribe.'—'No!' said the Covenanters, 'the glory of God consists in exterminating those whom we call his enemies.' Mistaken men! who *thus* propose to honor the God and Father of the universe, the merciful God, and the gracious Father of all his rational creatures! Instead of perusing with delight and conviction the plain declaration contained in our Sacred records, too many Christians have in almost every age passed over the characteristics of kind design throughout nature: they have mistaken or forgotten the clear delineations of Divine Mercy and Goodness in the Book of Grace, and have had recourse to the narrowed circle of their own prejudices."—*Maltby's Sermons.*

ties so strongly inculcate, and the indolent latitudinarianism which induces many to declare that "a man cannot help his belief," that "sincerity is everything," that "all religious sects are alike," &c.: positions which, as you well observed on one occasion, ought rather to be reversed; for when men are *not* sincere, all sects certainly *are* alike: for then it is but a lip service which will never influence the life, and it matters not what opinion is professed; it will be equally powerless.

Sincere belief must be the consequence of proof, without which we cannot believe truly; with it, we must. If then we content ourselves with the mere *ipse dixit* of others without seeking proof, our belief is the result of indolence, and for that indolence we shall be accountable when we are called on to give an account of the talent committed to our charge, if error has been consequent upon it. He, on the contrary, whose education or whose means have not put proof within his reach, although he may wish earnestly for it, *may* be wrong in understanding, but he will never be wrong in heart: his tenets may be wrong, but his life will be right. It behoves us, therefore, to be cautious how we pass sentence on one another in religious matters, since, as has been well observed, "we are ourselves amenable to a tribunal where uncharitable conduct towards others will bring down a just and heavy sentence on ourselves. We are not to erect ourselves into judges of other men's consciences,* but leave them to the judgment and disposal of ONE who alone can see into the heart of men, and alone can ascertain the real nature and ultimate consequence of all questions which admit of "doubtful disputation."

There will be some danger of losing our way among the almost numberless divisions and subdivisions of sects, which present themselves as soon as we begin to consider the subject at all narrowly. I therefore propose to simplify my task, and make our course a little plainer, by adopting the two great divisions into which the reformed churches may have been said to have arranged

* It would be well if Rom. xiv. were more attentively studied and more universally practised among Christians.

themselves at the era of the Reformation, as a foundation for the classification of Christian sects at present. Calvin and Melancthon may be considered as the prototypes and heads of these two divisions, which, however they may sometimes vary, and sometimes intermingle, are continually reproduced, because they are grounded upon two great natural divisions of human kind, the stern and the gentle. My own leaning is to the latter, because it appears to me most in accordance with the spirit of that Gospel whose great Promulgator made universal benevolence the test of his disciples; but at the same time I must acknowledge, and shall indeed prove before I have done, that the sterner theoretical view may coexist in the mind with a large share of true Christian charity and benevolence. Be the abstract belief of the Christian what it may, if he be really at heart a disciple, the example of his mild Master will always influence his life and feelings, and he will tread in the steps of his Lord, even if his judgment should sometimes have mistaken the true meaning of some of his words.

These two views of the Divine dispensations towards man were first arrayed in actual hostility at the Synod of Dort in 1618, where the doctrines of James Arminius, Professor of Divinity in the University of Leyden, who had followed the opinions of Luther and Melancthon, were condemned, and those of the Calvinistic church of Geneva affirmed. From that time the various sects of the reformed church have generally been known as Arminian or Calvinistic, according as they embraced the peculiar tenets of either party on the subject of man's salvation: I shall therefore thus distinguish the two classes into which I propose to arrange them, though they may not follow out either in the whole of their opinions.

I. ARMINIAN.

1. Quakers.
2. Socinians and Unitarians.
3. Wesleyan Methodists.
4. General Baptists, Moravians, Swedenborgians, Plymouth Brethren.

II. CALVINISTIC.

1. Presbyterians, Independents.
2. Particular Baptists, Sub and Supralapsarians, Sandemanians.
3. Calvinistic Methodists. Evangelical or Low Church.

LETTER II.

QUAKERS.

THE sect which I have placed first upon my list, arose about the middle of the seventeenth century, when a number of individuals withdrew from the communion of every *visible* church "to seek,"* as they expressed it, "the Lord, in retirement:" and George Fox, their leader, or as they termed him, their "honorable elder," went about preaching their opinions in fairs and markets, in courts of justice, and steeple houses, *i. e.* churches. He denounced the state worship as "superstitious," and warned all to obey the Holy Spirit, speaking by him. He was in consequence brought before two justices of the peace in Derbyshire, in 1650, one of whom, Mr. Bennet, called Fox, and his hearers "Quakers," in derision of their frequent admonitions to "*tremble* at the Word of God;" and this appellation soon became general, though they themselves took then, and still preserve, the title of "the Society of Friends."

The rigid peculiarities of phrase, &c., which Fox added to his religious sentiments; the regular discipline which he enforced; and the zeal with which he maintained and propagated his tenets, gave consistency to this sect, although he was not, as has been supposed, the originator of their doctrines. He conceived himself forbidden by divine command to pull off his hat to any one, or to address any one excepting in the singular number, or to "call any man master;" and for these peculiarities, as well as for the refusal to give or accept titles of honor, or to take an oath, the "Friends" suffered the most cruel persecutions; for we are told that "they tortured with cruel whippings the bodies of both men and women of

* They have in consequence been sometimes called "Seekers."

good estate and reputation ;”* and were further punished by impounding of their horses ; by distress of goods ; by fines, imprisonments, whipping, and setting in the stocks ; † yet, notwithstanding these severities, the sect increased and spread far and wide, and great numbers of people were drawn together, many out of animosity, to hear them.

The Declaration of Indulgence, in 1663, stopped for a short time the persecution of the Quakers, but by the Conventicle Act of 1664, numbers of them were condemned to transportation : in 1666, however, their condition improved, when the celebrated William Penn, the son of Admiral Penn, joined them.

The discipline of this society is kept up by monthly meetings, composed of an aggregate of several particular congregations, whose business it is to provide for the maintenance of their poor, and the education of their children ; also to judge of the sincerity and fitness of persons desirous of being admitted as members ; to direct proper attention to religion and moral duty ; and to deal with disorderly members. At each monthly meeting persons are appointed to see that the rules of their discipline are put in practice. It is usual, when any member has misconducted himself, to appoint a small committee to visit the offender, to endeavor to convince him of his error and induce him to forsake it. If they succeed, he is declared to have “made satisfaction for his offence,” otherwise he is dismissed from the society. In disputes between individuals, it is enjoined that the members of this sect shall not sue each other at law, but settle their differences by the rules of the society.

Marriage is regarded by the Quakers as a religious, not a mere civil compact. Those who wish to enter into that state appear together, and state their intentions at one of the monthly meetings, and if not attended by parents or guardians, must produce their consent in writing duly witnessed ; and if no objections are raised at a subsequent

* Gough's History of the Quakers. Vol. i. p. 139.

† Probably their resolute refusal to pay tithes and other dues brought on them some of these punishments.

meeting, they are allowed to solemnize their marriage, which is done at a public meeting for worship; towards the close of which the parties stand up and solemnly take each other for man and wife. A certificate of the proceedings is then read publicly and signed by the parties, and afterwards by the relations as witnesses. The monthly meeting keeps a register of the marriages as well as of the births and burials of the society.

Children are named without any attending ceremony; neither is it held *needful* that there should be any at burial, though the body followed by the relatives and friends is sometimes carried into a meeting house, and at the grave a pause is generally made to allow of a discourse from any friend attending if he be so inclined.

The women have monthly, quarterly, and yearly meetings of their own sex, but without the power of making rules. "As we believe," they say, "that women may be rightly called to the work of the ministry, we also think that to them belongs a share in the support of Christian discipline; and that some parts of it wherein their own sex is concerned devolve on them with peculiar propriety."

But what, you will ask, are the religious tenets of this sect? The question will perhaps best be answered by an extract from their "Rules of Discipline," a work published under the sanction of the society. "The original and immediate ground of the religious fellowship of the early Friends," says the writer of this manual, "was *union of sentiment in regard to Christ's inward teaching.*" They were firm believers in all that is revealed in Holy Scripture respecting our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ; nor would they have allowed that any one held the truth who denied his coming in the flesh, or the benefit to fallen man by his propitiatory sacrifice. "We believe that, in order to enable mankind to put in practice the precepts of the Gospel, every man coming into the world is endued with a measure of the light, grace, or good Spirit of Christ, by which, as it is alluded to, he is enabled to distinguish good from evil, and to correct the disorderly passions and corrupt propensities of his fallen nature, which *mere reason* is altogether insufficient to

overcome. For all that belongs to man is fallible, and within the reach of temptation: but the divine grace, which comes by Him, i. e. Christ, who hath overcome the world, is, to those who humbly and sincerely seek it, an all-sufficient and present help in time of need..... whereby the soul is translated out of the kingdom of darkness, and from under the power of Satan into the marvelous light and kingdom of the Son of God. Now as we thus believe that the grace of God, which comes by Jesus Christ, is alone sufficient for salvation, we can neither admit that it is conferred upon a few only, while others are left without it; nor thus asserting its universality, can we limit its operation to a partial cleansing of the soul from sin even in this life."

Baptism and the Lord's Supper are regarded by this sect as mere types or shadows, representing in a figurative manner certain great particulars of Christian Truths, but not intended to be of permanent obligation. They consider the former to have been superseded by the baptism of the Spirit: of the latter they say, "the emblem may be either used or disused as Christians may consider most conducive to the real advantage of the church: the only *needful* supper of the Lord is altogether of a spiritual nature." They conceive that a reliance on the eucharist as a "viaticum or saving ordinance," is a dangerous tenet, as well as the connecting the rite of baptism with regeneration. They think that "ordinances so liable to abuse, and the cause of so many divisions and persecutions, cannot truly appertain to the law of God."

Quakers consider all holidays as "shadows," which ceased with the shadowy dispensations of the law, and that neither the first day of the week, nor any other, possesses any superior sanctity;* but as a society they have

* "Keep the Sabbath holy," says Luther, "for its use both to body and soul; but if anywhere the day is made holy for the mere day's sake; if anywhere any one sets up its observance upon a *Jewish* foundation, then I order you to work on it, to ride on it, to dance on it, to feast on it, to do anything that shall remove this encroachment on the Christian spirit and liberty." This is language which may be easily misunderstood and per-

never objected to "a day of rest," for the purpose of religious improvement. They consider the Christian Dispensation to have superseded the use of oaths, and contend that our Lord's precepts* extend even to the swearing of witnesses in courts of law. War they hold to be altogether inconsistent with the spirit and precepts of the Gospel, and urge that the primitive Christians, during two centuries, maintained its unlawfulness. They object, on the same principle, to capital punishments and the slave trade.

The members of the society are bound by their principles to abstain entirely "from profane and extravagant entertainments," from excess in eating and drinking; from public diversions; from the reading of useless, frivolous and pernicious books; from gaming of every description; and from vain and injurious sports (such as hunting or shooting for diversion); from unnecessary display in funerals, furniture, and style of living: from unprofitable, seductive, and dangerous amusements, among which are ranked dancing and music; and generally from all "such occupations of time and mind as plainly tend to levity, vanity, and forgetfulness of our God and Saviour," and they object to all complimentary intercourse.

In the sketch I have now given of the tenets of this sect, you cannot have failed to observe how closely their notions with regard to the fundamental doctrines of Christianity tally with those of the great body of the church; the differences being all on points of minor import, if we except the ceremonies of baptism and the Lord's Supper; which, being the appointment of Christ himself, we are not at liberty to reject. And yet, be it observed, the Quaker does not presumptuously reject them, but merely acts upon, as we suppose, an erroneous view of their nature.

On points of minor difference it may be observed, that He who was the PRINCE OF PEACE, and came to establish it, never specifically forbade war, (for there may be cases

verted from Luther's meaning; but it was uttered by him from a jealousy of Sabbatical superstition.

* Matt. v.

where it is merely self-defence,) but left it to the spirit of the Gospel to remove the *causes* of war.* We all know the appellation bestowed on the centurion, Cornelius: and when soldiers came to John the Baptist, saying, "What shall we do?" he merely sought to retrench the disorders and injustice which those who follow the profession of arms might be tempted to commit; but did not condemn their necessary employments. We may therefore fairly conclude that the sweeping condemnation of *all* war by the Quakers, is not warranted by Scripture, although it is in many, and indeed most instances, entered upon far too carelessly.

One of the main distinctions of the Quakers is the rejection of certain amusements and pursuits, which others, on the contrary, consider as innocent, believing that the religion of Christ rather encourages than forbids a cheerful spirit, and allows by the example of the Saviour, a participation in social pleasures: and that "an upright, religious man, by partaking in such pleasures, may be the means of restraining others within due bounds, and by his very presence may prevent their regenerating into extravagance, profligacy and sin;"† and such do not feel

* "There is an unreasonable, uncharitable, and superstitious notion that a soldier, so far as his profession is concerned, is 'of the world;' and that a man who dies in the field of battle is *necessarily* less prepared for his change than one who dies in his bed. These feelings, which have sadly tended to degrade and impoverish the mind of modern Europe...to make armies what they are told they *must* be; and therefore to make them dangerous by depriving them of any high restraining principles, have been greatly encouraged by the tone which religious men of our day have adopted from the Quakers."—*Maurice's Kingdom of Christ*.

† "Moral education, in spite of all the labors of direct instruction, is really acquired in hours of recreation. Sports and amusements are, and must be the means by which the mind is insensibly trained: 'Men are but children of a larger growth;' they will have their pleasures; and unless care be taken, the sermon of the church or chapel will be neutralized by the association of the tavern and the raceground. There must be safety-valves for the mind, *i. e.*, there must be means for its pleasurable, profitable, and healthful exertion; those means it is in our power

in their hearts that *these** are the "poms and vanities of the world," which by their baptismal vow they renounce. But surely it is possible that different persons may regard the same pursuits and amusements in a very different light, and yet both may be conscientious in their views, and both, whether in abstaining or enjoying, be equally doing that which is lawful and right in the sight of God. That very amusement or pursuit which is a snare to one, and therefore to be avoided by him, may be a source of innocent, and perhaps profitable recreation to another. It is the intention, the *animus* with which an act is done, and not the act itself which constitutes the sin. "Let not him that eateth despise him that eateth not; and let not him that eateth not judge him that eateth: to his own master he standeth or falleth."

"Christianity," says an excellent prelate of our church, "forbids no necessary occupation, no reasonable indulgences, no innocent relaxation. It allows us to 'use' the world, provided we do not 'abuse' it. It does not spread before us a delicious banquet, and then come with a 'Touch not, taste not, handle not:' all it requires is that our liberty degenerate not into licentiousness; our amusements into dissipation; our industry into incessant toil; our carefulness into extreme anxiety, and endless solicitude. When it requires us to be 'temperate in all things,' it plainly tells us that we *may* use all things temperately. †

to render safe and innocent; in too many instances they have been rendered dangerous and guilty."—*Dr. Taylor.*

* Every creature of God is good, and nothing to be refused if it be received with thanksgiving. (1 Tim. iv. 4.) Extend this maxim, apply it to the several means of enjoyment, either supposed or real, that the world presents to us. Those pleasures from which we cannot unreservedly arise, and thank our Maker; those pursuits which mar our devotions, and render us unwilling or afraid to come before Him, cannot be innocent. It would be no easy matter to lay down, as applicable to all, a rule as to how far conformity with the world is admissible, and where the Christian must stop: for as the habits and tempers and propensities of men differ, so also do their temptations and their danger. Thus through the rule by which one would stand securely, another would as certainly fall.—*Lectures on the Church Catechism.*

† See 1 Tim. iv. 4.

When it directs us to 'make our moderation known unto all men,' this evidently implies that within the bounds of moderation we may enjoy all the reasonable conveniences and comforts of this present life."

I have noticed this, in my opinion, erroneous practice of the Quakers at the more length, because it is not confined to them. Asceticism, of which this is one branch, has been the bane of the church, and of Christianity generally; and few sects are entirely free from the notion that holiness requires a withdrawal from amusements, and a certain degree of seclusion from the world. Yet, if the world is to be improved, the heaven must be placed *in* it: and a good man probably never does his Father's work more effectually than when he spreads the sanctifying influence of his example through all the relations of life; showing that there is no position in society where Christianity does not add a grace and a relish unknown without it: spreading refinement of manners and delicacy of thought, and insensibly rendering social intercourse more polished, and more delightful, by banishing from it all that can offend.

The Quakers adduce Matt. v. 33-37, James v. 12, &c., in support of their objection to all oaths, even judicial ones, and consider that the Christian dispensation abrogated their use. But in answer to this we may observe that even the Almighty is represented as confirming his promises by a solemn oath. "Because," says the apostle, "He could swear by no higher, he sware by Himself;" and St. Paul on particular occasions expresses himself thus, "As God is true:" "Before God I lie not:" "God is my record," &c., all which expressions undoubtedly contain the essence and formality of an oath; and the apostle upon some occasions mentions this solemn swearing with approbation, "an oath for confirmation is the end of all strife:" the swearing, therefore, which our Saviour absolutely forbids, is common or unnecessary swearing, and we are recommended to affirm or deny in common conversation without imprecations. "Let your conversation be yea, yea,—nay, nay."

The repugnance entertained by the Quakers against paying tithes appears to me to arise from an error in their

mode of viewing the question. The assertion made by them "that all the provision made for ministers of the Gospel in the first ages was made by the love of their flocks," is true, though that love very soon produced endowments, even before Christianity was established as the law of the empire. But allowing this, it does not follow, as they go on to assert, that "since we are under the same dispensation of love as the apostles were, the principles which governed the church then are to govern it now." Tithes were originally given to the church as a corporation, by the owners of the soil; and since that time estates have been transferred from hand to hand subject to that charge, till no man has any plea for refusing it. The question is not one of religion but of property. If my estate devolve to me chargeable with an annuity payable either to a corporation or an individual, I have no right to set up his religious opinions in bar of his claim: for I have paid less for the purchase in consequence of the existence of that claim, which in common honesty, therefore, I am bound to satisfy, be the annuitant who he may.*

Having now noticed the points wherein I consider the peculiar tenets of the Quakers to be erroneous, I shall conclude with the more agreeable part of my task, and prove by extracts from one of their writers how much of true Christian feeling exists among them. The following is from a little book given me by a Quaker, from the pen of J. Gurney, entitled "An Essay on Love to God."

* "A reverend Doctor in Cambridge was troubled at his small living at Hoggenton (Oakington) with a peremptory Anabaptist, who plainly told him, 'It goes against my conscience to pay you tithes except you can show me a place of Scripture whereby they are due unto you.' The Dr. returned, 'Why should it not go as much against my conscience that you should enjoy your nine parts for which you can show no place in Scripture?' To whom the other rejoined, 'But I have for my land deeds and evidences from my fathers, who purchased and were peaceably possessed thereof by the laws of the land.' 'The same is my title,' said the Doctor, 'tithes being confirmed unto me by many statutes of the land, time out of mind.'" *Fuller's Church History, Book II.*

“ Still more completely than the provisions of nature fall in with our bodily state, and supply our temporal wants; still more properly than the air agrees with the functions of the lungs, and the light with those of the eye, does the Gospel of our Redeemer suit the spiritual condition of man. We are a fallen race, alienated from God by our sins, justly liable to his wrath: in the Gospel, we have pardon, peace, and restoration. ‘ Christ made all things new,’ says Grotius, ‘ and the latter creation is *more divine* than the former.’ If then the first creation of mankind and all the bounties of nature are the result of Love, that attribute is far more gloriously displayed in the scheme of redemption, and in the works of grace.—The love of God the Father is ever represented in Scripture as the origin of all our hopes,—as the eternal, unfathomable spring of the waters of life and salvation, and this love is plainly described as extending to the whole world. ‘ God so loved the world, &c.* ‘ God was in Christ reconciling the world to himself†—‘ God would have all men to be saved,’ &c.‡ Do we ask for an overwhelming evidence of the love of God? Let the apostle satisfy our inquiry. ‘ In this was manifested the love of God towards us, because God sent his only begotten Son into the world that we might live by him. Herein is love; not that we loved God, but that he loved us, and sent his Son to be the propitiation for our sins.’§ Do we ask whether God thus loved the whole or only a part of the world?—Let the same apostle answer: ‘ He tasted death for *every man*—He gave himself a ransom for *all*,’ &c. Even the Gentiles, who were without the benefit of an outward revelation, were by no means destitute of an inward knowledge of the law of God, and some of them showed ‘ the work of the law written on their hearts, their consciences also bearing witness.’|| ‘ Christ is the true light which lighteth every man that cometh into the world.’¶ Hence we may reasonably infer that as God appointed

* John iii. 16.

† 2 Cor. v. 19.

‡ 1 Tim. ii. 4.

§ 1 John iv. 9, 10.

|| Rom. ii. 15.

¶ John i. 9. See also 1 John ii. 1, 2. 2 Heb. ii. 9.

the death of Christ to be a sacrifice for the sins of the *whole* world, so *all* men receive through Christ a measure of moral and spiritual light, and all have their day of gracious visitation. If the light in numberless instances be extremely faint, if the darkness fail to comprehend it, we may rest in the conviction that God is not only just but equitable, and that those 'who know not their Master's will and do it not shall be beaten with few stripes.'* The Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ, as it is revealed in the Holy Scriptures, is intended for the benefit of the whole world: it is adapted to men of every condition, clime, and character: all are invited to avail themselves of its benefits: all who *will* come *may* come, and 'take the water of life freely.'"

* Luke xii. 48.

LETTER III.

SOCINIANS AND UNITARIANS.

WHEN the first great movement which led to the reform of a large part of the Christian Churches in Europe, awakened men's minds from the lethargy in which they had slept whilst learning was confined to the cloister, the questions with regard to the nature of the Deity which had distracted the early church began again to be mooted; and as early as the year 1524, "the divinity of Christ was openly denied by Louis Hetyer, one of the wandering and fanatical Anabaptists, who was put to death at Constance."* He was succeeded by Michael Servete or Servetus, a Spanish physician; who, for his wild notions on the same subject, was apprehended on his road through Switzerland, at the instigation of Calvin, accused of blasphemy, and condemned to the flames.† But doctrines were never yet crushed by persecution, unless indeed it were so wholesale as to exterminate all who held them; and though these opinions were thus fatal to their professors, the main points were reproduced by others; and finally assumed form as a sect, under the titles above named. The term Socinian was taken from two of its most distinguished promoters, Lælius and Faustus Sozinus, or Socinus. They were of an illustrious family at Siena in Tuscany, and Lælius, the uncle of Faustus, having taken a disgust to popery, traveled into France, England, &c., to examine into their religious creed, in order, if possible, to come at the truth. He was a man distinguished for his genius and learning, no less than for his virtuous life; he settled at last at Zurich, embraced the Helvetic confession of faith, and died at Zurich in 1562, before he had reached his fortieth year.

* Mosh. Ecc. Hist., Cent. XVI., Sect. iii.

† Ib.

His sentiments, or rather doubts as to certain points, were embodied, and more openly propagated by his nephew Faustus; who, as is supposed, drew up from his papers the religious system afterwards known under the name of Socinianism. There is however a considerable degree of obscurity hanging over the rise of this sect, and no one has given a satisfactory history of it.

The first appearance of Unitarians, as a distinct congregation, was in Poland, where they obtained a settlement in the city of Cracow in the year 1569; and in 1575 they published at Cracow the "Catechism or Confession of the Unitarians;"* but Faustus Socinus having settled among them in the year 1579, soon obtained so much influence as finally to remodel the whole religious system of the sect, and a new form drawn up by Socinus himself, was substituted for the old Catechism.

The following is an abstract of the doctrines taught in this Catechism. After affirming that the Christian religion is "a road for arriving at eternal life, divinely made known," the pupil is told that the will of God on points essential to salvation was revealed by Jesus Christ. The Catechism then goes on to affirm the entire unity of the Deity; since, if he is one essence, then must he also be individually one,† and therefore Christ cannot be truly said to be a *separate* person or individual, partaking of the *essentia* of the Deity, since that *essentia* is necessarily one. That the Spirit of God, being an essential part of the Deity, cannot be a separate individual (for in this sense the Catechism interprets the word *persona*‡), any

* Some of the passages of this Catechism are quoted by Mosheim, which differ very little from the doctrine of the primitive church; all that can be noticed is, that they *omit* a distinct recognition of the divinity of Christ.

† "Fausti Socini Senensis Opera omnia," vol. i. p. 561. These works form a part of the "Bibliotheca Fratrum Polonorum qui Unitarii appellantur." Irenopoli post anno dom. 1656.

‡ It is remarkable that *persona* should so often be confounded with *individual*. *Persona* in its original sense was the mask of the actor, *through which the sound* came. The same actor might wear many *personæ*. If Socinus had recollected this, he might have spared himself the trouble of controverting a notion

more than his wisdom or his goodness is a separate individual, and that therefore the manifestations of the Spirit of God are manifestations of the Deity himself.

“Christ,” says the Catechism, “is a man, according to Rom. v. 15, conceived by a virgin, through the power of the Divine Spirit, without the intervention of man in the ordinary course of generation. He was first subject to suffering and death—afterwards impassible and immortal, Rom. vi. 9. It is in the sense of his existence derived immediately from God, that he, though man, is called the Son of God—as Adam is so termed from the same cause. Jesus Christ was the immediate instrument of God’s communications to man; and being, whilst on earth, the voice of God, he is now the anointed King, or Christ, over the people of God.”

The passages where he is said to have existed from the beginning; to have created all things, &c., are laboriously explained away, as referring to the regeneration, or new state of things introduced by Christ’s mission on earth: and in this part there is much forced interpretation. I shall annex some of the passages in the language of the original,* as a proof that I have given a fair account of the real Socinian doctrine, which is very little understood at present. Writers from whom we might expect greater accuracy, have very generally confounded Socinians and Arians, although Faustus Socinus was at the pains to write a labored refutation of the Arian doctrine, and although a reference to the doctrines of the two sects would show that they are the antipodes of each other. Arius taught that Christ was not of *the same nature* (ὁμοουσιος) with the Father, but of a *like nature* (ομοιουσιος), and therefore individually separate—separate in will, and capable of differing. This is a direct assertion of two Gods. Socinus on the contrary strenuously asserts the unity of the Deity to the extent of denying the pre-existence of Christ; which Arius, though acknowledging that there was a time when he began to exist, nevertheless

never maintained by the orthodox, i. e., that the Deity was *individually divided*.

* Vide Appendix.

refers to a period remote beyond human calculation. Thus upon their characteristic doctrines, the two sects are diametrically opposed to each other.

Having now given you the real opinions of Socinus, from his own works, for the book is lying beside me as I write, I shall pursue my plan of examining how far they accord with what was taught by those who certainly ought to be best informed on the subject, namely, Christ himself, his Apostles, and their immediate successors; as well as with the deductions of reason. The unity of the Deity is so frequently and so decidedly asserted in Scripture, that it is impossible to consider any man as unorthodox who professes to make this the groundwork of his belief—so far therefore the Socinian is in accordance both with Scripture and the general voice of the Christian Church, for the early Apologists for Christianity, who had to address polytheists, are full of declarations that they worship One only Deity, who by various manifestations has made himself, at different times, known to mankind.* There is not a writer of the first and second centuries who does not anxiously assert the oneness of the God whom the Christians worship: but then they as anxiously assert the identity of their Teacher and Lord with that God. From Christ himself, who says, “Before Abraham was, I am;”† “I and the Father are one;”‡ “He who hath seen me hath seen the Father;” “the Father that dwelleth in me, He doeth the works;”§ to St. Paul, who tells us that “God was in Christ reconciling the world to Himself,”|| down to the fathers of the early church, to whom I may refer *passim* for the same doctrine; all have distinctly asserted that the message of peace to man was delivered by God himself, making use of a human form as the mode of communication with his creatures, and dwelling in “the man Christ Jesus,”¶ as in a temple built up for his especial use; the human nature, to use the expression of the church, “having been

* Small Books, &c., No. VII.

† περί 'Αβραάμ γενέσθαι ἐγώ εἰμι.

‡ John x. 30.

§ John xiv. 9, 10.

|| 2 Cor. v. 19.

¶ 1 Tim. ii. 5.

taken into God," not the Godhead circumscribed in man. I will not swell the length of my letter with quotations from the fathers which may be found elsewhere; I think the texts I have quoted, with many more of the same purport, which you will readily call to mind, suffice to prove that when Socinus asserted the Christ to be *merely* a man, he erred; for though Jesus "the Carpenter's son," as his cotemporaries called him, was to all intents and purposes a man "of a reasonable soul and human flesh subsisting;"* and though this may be proved from numberless passages in the Scripture, where the man Jesus speaks of his inferiority to the Father and bestower of his human frame and spirit,—yet if we do not entirely distort the meaning of words, *that man* at times uttered declarations of divine power which could only have proceeded from the indwelling Deity, otherwise they must have been the assertions of imposture, which Socinus by no means teaches to have been the case. I know not, therefore, how the believer in the Gospel can avoid acknowledging that Christ was a compound being:—perfectly a man, and speaking as such on some occasions; but, at the same time, the temple of the Ever-living God, whose words flowed from his lips like the answer from the Mercy seat: "Heaven and the heaven of heavens" no doubt "cannot contain" the Infinite; and no true believer will assert that God can be circumscribed in a human body—but, if so mean a comparison may be permitted—as the crater of the volcano is but the mouth-piece of the mighty agents operating within for the fashioning of the earth,—so the manifestation of the Deity in the form, and from the lips of a man, is but that spot of the material creation where the ever blessed Divinity allows himself, as it were, a vent; and gives forth a visible and tangible sign of his existence.

"He that has seen me hath seen the Father," says *the Christ*. "I can of my own self do nothing," † says *the man*: and this distinction which the Christ, who necessarily knew something of the composition of his own nature,

* Athanasian Creed.

† John v. 30.

so frequently asserts, has probably been the groundwork of the mistaken views of this class of Christians, and we may well look with charitable indulgence on the errors of men, who, dreading lest they should incur the penalty of giving the incommunicable glory of the Mighty God to another, have not allowed their due weight to the passages which assert that Mighty God to have undertaken the task of bringing his creature man back to Himself.

Having thus given you a fair account of the creed of Socinus, I must next notice the modern Unitarians, who on some points differ from him. Where there is no acknowledged creed or catechism,* which may be quoted

* The following are extracts from the "Book of Common Prayer reformed," professing to have been a selection made by "the late Rev. Theophilus Lindsey for the use of the congregation in Essex Street"—and as a liturgy is generally allowed to be a fair exponent of the doctrines of those who use it—perhaps we may assume that the violent and reprehensible expressions made use of by some few persons of this persuasion, are not such as would be acknowledged by the congregations of Unitarians in general.

Form of baptism. "I baptize thee into (sic) the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit."

"Almighty and ever blessed God, by whose providence the different generations of mankind are raised up to know thee and to enjoy thy favor for ever; grant that this child now dedicated to thee as the disciple of thy Son Jesus Christ our Lord, may be endued with heavenly virtues.....and that we may daily proceed in all virtue and goodness of living, till we come to that eternal kingdom which thou hast promised by Christ our Lord."

Order for the administration of the Lord's Supper. Confession, the same as in the liturgy of the English church as far as "we do heartily repent and are heartily sorry for these our misdoings, the remembrance of which is grievous unto us. Have mercy upon us, have mercy upon us, most merciful Father; forgive us all that is past: and grant that we may ever hereafter serve and please thee in newness of life to the honor and glory of thy name." The absolution is the same with the trifling change of *us* for *you*. The sentences following are the same till "Hear also what St. John saith," where the text 1 John i. 8, 9, is substituted.

Prayer before the minister receives the communion. "Al-

as authority, it is difficult to give the doctrines of a sect with any precision; but as far as it is possible to judge from the writings most in repute among the Unitarians, they disclaim the notion of the miraculous conception, and believe Christ to have been to all intents and purposes *a mere man*. At the same time they allow him to have been so inspired and guided by God, that it is difficult to see where they draw the line between their own creed and that of the church, which allows the perfect humanity of Jesus, but asserts that "God and man make one Christ," namely, that the message of peace was that of God speaking by human lips, and that the Anointed prophet who declared it, was, when so anointed, the temple and place of manifestation of the living God. They disclaim the doctrine of atonement, and believe that the mission of Christ had for its object the reform of the world, and the restoration of man to a sense of his true relation towards God, and even here Scripture and the early church speak a language which differs not very

mighty God, our heavenly Father, by whose gracious assistance and for our benefit, thy beloved Son our Lord Jesus Christ, was obedient even to the death upon the cross; who did institute, and in his holy Gospel command us to continue, a perpetual memorial of his death until his coming again; hear us, we most humbly beseech thee; and grant that we may receive this bread and wine in grateful remembrance of his death and sufferings, and of thy great mercy to mankind in sending him, thy chosen messenger, to turn us from darkness to light, from vice to virtue, from ignorance and error, to the knowledge of thee, the only true God, whom to know is life everlasting."

Form of administration. "Take and eat this bread in remembrance of Christ"—"Take and drink this wine in remembrance of Christ."

In the daily service many prayers are omitted, so as to make the service much shorter. The exhortation and confession are the same; for the absolution is substituted "Almighty God, unto whom all hearts are open, all desires known, and from whom no secrets are hid; purify the thoughts of our hearts that we may perfectly love thee, and worthily magnify thy holy name through Christ our Lord."—It would be useless to multiply extracts—enough has been given to show the doctrine of the Unitarian congregations who use this liturgy.

greatly from theirs. For the language in which our redemption is spoken of, is that of a master purchasing a slave, as will be seen on a reference to Rom. vi. in the original. The ransom by which man was purchased to be the servant of holiness instead of that of sin, was paid to his former master, sin, by the purchaser; and the purchaser is God. "I speak after the manner of men," says St. Paul, "because of the infirmity of your flesh;" *i. e.*, I adopt the phraseology of a common transaction because your minds are not sufficiently accustomed to the contemplation of higher things to understand them without a metaphor; but the Unitarian forgets, when asserting that the ransom was not paid *to* God, that it was paid *by* God; and that man, the slave, was bought from sin, the master, at no less a price than the condescension of the Deity himself to the infirmity of our flesh, by making himself visibly and tangibly known to his creatures, through the medium of a human form.

I have now endeavored to give a dispassionate view of the doctrines of these sects, hitherto so much misunderstood, and having marked the points wherein they appear to me to recede from Christian truth, I have the pleasanter task before me, of showing by extracts from their writings, how large a portion of the religion which we all profess, they still retain, and I may say from experience, on most occasions conscientiously act upon.

"If, with the Apostle, we glory in the cross of Christ, or in that religion which could not have been confirmed without his death, let us not only be careful to govern our lives by the precepts of it in general, but more particularly be prepared to suffer what the strictest profession of it may call us to. Let us remember that our Saviour hath said, if any man will be his disciple, he must 'take up his cross, and follow him.' That is, he must be ready to do it rather than abandon the profession of the Gospel, or whatever the strictest purity of it may require. A true Christian is no more of *this world* than his Lord and Master was of it. With him everything here below is but of secondary consideration, &c.—but this we must remember for our consolation, that if, in time of persecution,

'He that keepeth his life shall lose it,' 'He that loseth his life' for the profession of the Gospel 'shall keep it to life eternal.' 'If we suffer with Christ, we shall also reign with him and be glorified together.'**

"The truths which relate to Jesus himself are among the *most important* which the Gospel reveals. 'We preach Christ,' says the Apostle, 'warning every man and teaching every man, that we may present every man perfect in Christ Jesus.' From this passage we derive a most important sentiment, confirmed by the whole New Testament—that the great design of all the doctrines and precepts of the Gospel, is, to exalt the character,—to promote eminent purity of heart and life, to make men 'perfect as their Father in heaven is perfect.' We must preach not to make fiery partisans, and to swell the number of a sect; not to overwhelm the mind with fear, or to heat it with feverish rapture; not to form men to the decencies of life, to a superficial goodness, which will secure the admiration of mankind. All these effects fall infinitely short of the great end of the Christian ministry. We should preach that we may make men perfect Christians: perfect, not according to the standard of the world, but according to the law of Christ; perfect in heart and in life, in solitude and in society, in the great and in the common concerns of life. Here is the purpose of Christian preaching. In this, as in a common centre, all the truths of the Gospel meet; to this they all conspire; and no doctrine has an influence on salvation, any farther than it is an aid to the perfecting of our nature."†

"Christ is a great Saviour, as he redeems or sets free the mind, cleansing it from evil, breathing into it the love of virtue, calling forth its noblest faculties and affections, enduing it with moral power, restoring it to order, health and liberty."*** "Christ has revealed to us God as the Father, and as a Father in the noblest sense of that word. He hath revealed Him as the author and lover of all souls, desiring to redeem all from sin, and to impress

* Priestley's "Discourses on Various Subjects," p. 419. See also p. 14, &c., and Prefatory Discourse, p. 93.

† Channing's Discourse on preaching Christ.

his likeness more and more resplendently on all; as preferring to all that best gift in the universe, his 'holy Spirit;' as having sent his beloved Son to train us up and to introduce us to an 'inheritance, incorruptible, undefiled, and unfading in the heavens.' **

"I confess when I can escape the deadening power of habit, and can receive the full import of such passages as the following, 'Come unto me, all ye that labor and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest.' 'I am come to seek and to save that which was lost.' 'He that confesseth me before men, him will I confess before my Father in heaven.' 'Whosoever shall be ashamed of me before men, of him shall the Son of Man be ashamed, when he cometh in the glory of the Father with the holy angels.' 'In my Father's house are many mansions; I go to prepare a place for you;' I say, when I can succeed in realizing the import of such passages, I feel myself listening to a being such as never before and never since spoke in human language. I am awed by the consciousness of greatness which these simple words express; and when I connect this greatness with the proofs of Christ's miracles which I gave you in a former discourse, I am compelled to speak with the centurion, 'Truly this was the Son of God.' †

"In reading the Gospels I feel myself in the presence of one who speaks as man never spake; whose voice is not of the earth; who speaks with a tone of reality and authority altogether his own; who speaks of God, as conscious of his immediate presence, as enjoying with him the intimacy of an only son; and who speaks of heaven, as most familiar with the higher states of being." ‡

"Go to Jesus Christ for guidance, inspiration, and strength in your office." *** "The privilege of communing with such a spirit is so great, and the duty of going from man to Christ is so solemn, that you must spare no effort to place yourself nearer and nearer to the Divine Master." "My brother, go forth to your labors

* Channing's Works. On the great Purpose of Christianity.

† Channing's Character of Christ.

‡ Channing's Sunday School.

with the spirit and power of Him who first preached the Gospel to the poor."*

"To Jesus the conqueror of death we owe the sure hope of immortality." * * * "Is that teacher to be scorned, who, in the language of conscious greatness, says to us, 'I am the resurrection and the life?'"†

"What are we to understand by the Divinity of Christ? In the sense in which many Christians, and perhaps a majority interpret it, we do not deny it, but believe it as firmly as themselves. We believe firmly in the Divinity of Christ's mission and office, that he spoke with Divine authority, and was a bright image of the Divine perfections. We believe that God dwelt in him, manifested himself through him, taught men by him, and communicated to him his spirit without measure. We believe that Jesus Christ was the most glorious display, expression, and representative of God to mankind, so that in seeing and knowing him, we see and know the invisible Father; so that when Christ came, God visited the world and dwelt with men more conspicuously than at any former period. In Christ's words, we hear God speaking; in his miracles, we behold God acting; in his character and life, we see an unsullied image of God's purity and love."‡

* Channing's Charge at the Ordination of Rev. R. C. Waterston.

† Channing on Infidelity.

‡ Channing's System of Exclusion.

LETTER IV.

WESLEYAN METHODISTS.

TOWARDS the beginning of the last century, two young men at Oxford, the one a fellow of Lincoln College, struck by the thoughtlessness or lukewarmness of those about them, resolved to devote themselves to closer and more profitable study. They were brothers, by name John and Charles Wesley; and two other students joined them in their evening readings of the New Testament in the Greek: the elder of the brothers was at this time about twenty-six.* After a year of this kind of life, they admitted two or three of the pupils of the elder brother, and one of those of the younger, to their meetings; and the following year, being joined by yet more of the students, the regularity of their lives obtained for them the title of *Methodists* from those who were not inclined to follow their example.

In 1735 another name was added to their number, which has also become celebrated: this was George Whitfield, of Pembroke College, then in his eighteenth year: but of him I shall have occasion to speak by and by. I shall therefore confine myself to the Wesleys. A difference of opinion on the subjects of Free will and Predestination separated them from their younger coadjutor in 1741, and their respective friends, adopting strongly the distinctive opinions of the two, the grand division of the sect, which sprung up from their preaching, into Wesleyan or Arminian, and Whitfieldian or Calvinistic Methodists, ensued. All three received holy orders according to the ceremonial of the Church of England, and Wesley never ceased to hold his spiritual mother in high estimation. "The Church of England," he says in one

* John Wesley was born in 1703.

place, "is the purest in Christendom." But the singularity of their proceedings raised suspicion, and though both brothers continued to profess the fullest assent to the articles and liturgy of the established church, yet their manner of preaching and form of worship had something in it which led the bishops and clergy in general to consider them as verging on Sectarianism. In many places they were refused the use of the pulpit; and then, in the perhaps enthusiastic belief that they were the appointed instruments of rekindling religion in hearts where it had been dead hitherto, they began a system of field preaching.

There were at that time large districts slumbering in utter darkness and ignorance of the saving truths of the Gospel; and it was to these that the Wesleys especially directed their attention, with a success proportioned to their zeal; and had the then heads of the church availed themselves of the assistance of these earnest men in the way they might have done, by sanctioning their missionary labors among the poor and the uninstructed, the benefit would have been incalculable. But the harsh treatment* they met with, drove John Wesley at last into complete schism: and then the ambition, which had perhaps animated his first exertions almost unknown to himself, assumed a bolder flight, and he aspired to the distinction of being the head and leader of a sect which grew so rapidly, that at the time of his death in 1791, "the num-

* "I rode over to a neighboring town," says Wesley, "to wait upon a justice of peace, a man of candor and understanding; before whom I was informed their angry neighbors had carried a whole wagon load of these new heretics." But when he asked, "what they had done," there was a deep silence, for that was a point their conductor had forgot. At length one said, "Why they pretend to be better than other people, and besides they pray from morning till night." Mr. S—asked, "But have they done nothing besides?" "Yes sir," said an old man, "an't please your worship they have converted my wife; till she went among them she had such a tongue, and now she is as quiet as a lamb." "Carry them back," replied the justice, "and let them convert all the scolds in the town."—(*Wesley's Journal.*)

ber of members in connection with him in Europe, America, and the West Indian Islands, was 80,000. And at the last conference in 1831, the numbers returned were, in Great Britain, 249,119; in Ireland, 22,470; in the Foreign Missions, 42,743. Total 314,332. Exclusive of more than half a million of persons in the Societies in the States of America."*

You are probably aware that, besides the public preaching, Wesley instituted among his people several kinds of private meetings. To the public prayer meetings, which were generally held in private houses, persons not of this sect were often invited, and on these occasions a hymn was first sung, then they all knelt, and the first who felt "moved" made an extempore prayer; when he had finished, another commenced, and so on for about two hours. These prayer meetings were held in such high esteem among the Methodists, that they asserted more were "born again" and "made free," as they termed it, "from all the remains of sin," than at any other meetings, public preachings, &c.

There was much in this kind of meeting which was likely to lead to enthusiasm, which is universally found to be most easily awakened where numbers are congregated; and according to an author formerly of their persuasion,† the consequence was such as might have been expected. "It is impossible," says he, "to form any just idea of those assemblies except you had been present at them. One coaxes the Divine Being, another is amorous, and a third will tell the Deity, 'He must be a liar if he does not grant all they ask.' They thus go on working up each other's imagination until they become as it were spiritually intoxicated, and while in this state they sometimes recollect a text or two of Scripture, such as 'Thy sins are forgiven thee'—'Go and sin no more'—'Go in peace,' &c., and then declare themselves to be 'born again' or 'sanctified.'"

The love feast is also a private meeting of as many members of the community as choose to attend; and

* Watson's Life of Wesley, page 484.

† Lackington.

they generally assemble from all parts within several miles of the place where the feast is held. They then alternately sing and pray, and some among them, who think that their experience, as they term it, is remarkable, stand up, and narrate all the transactions which they say have taken place between God, the devil, and their souls.

There is a curious propensity to egotism in human nature which frequently shows itself in religious matters. Men love to talk of themselves: and the Romanist finds pleasure in the power of pouring forth all his feelings and thoughts to his father confessor, whenever he is strongly excited by passion: of this I have become aware from personal knowledge. Other enthusiasts enjoy no less satisfaction in talking of the interior conflicts they have sustained; for all ungoverned feeling loves to vent itself in speech, and the lover who talks of his mistress, or the penitent who talks of his sins, is for the time being in the same state of restless excitement. *Governed* feeling, on the contrary, as far as my experience goes, is silent.

In these Love Feasts those present have buns to eat, which are mutually broken between each "Brother and Sister," and water to drink, which they hand from one to another. These meetings commence about seven o'clock, and last till nine or ten.

Each society is divided into smaller companies called "classes," according to their respective places of abode. There are about twelve persons in every class, one of whom is styled "the Leader," whose business it is to see each person in his class, at least once a week, to advise, comfort, or exhort, as occasion may require, and to receive what each is willing to give towards the support of the Gospel.

It is expected that every member should continue to evince his desire of salvation by abstaining from "the taking of the name of the Lord in vain;" "the profaning of the Lord's day, either by ordinary work thereon, or by buying and selling;" "drunkenness, buying or selling spirituous liquors, or drinking them, unless in cases of extreme necessity; fighting, quarreling, brawling; going to law with a brother; returning evil for evil, or railing

for railing; the using many words in buying or selling.* The buying or selling uncustomed goods; the giving or taking things on usury, i. e., unlawful interest; the putting on of gold or costly apparel; the taking such diversions as cannot be used in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ; the singing those songs or reading those books, that do not tend to the knowledge or love of God;—softness and needless self-indulgence, &c.†

Among the duties expected and required of the members are all kinds of beneficence, diligence, frugality,‡ self-denial, and attendance on all the ordinances of God, among which is specifically mentioned fasting. If any member habitually break any of these rules, he is admonished; and if he do not then repent, expulsion follows. “Marrying with unbelievers,” and bankruptcy, if the party has not kept fair accounts, are also followed by expulsion.

No one I think can doubt that much good was effected by the first preaching of Wesley and his disciples, for at that time our church was in a lethargic state, and the lower orders shamefully neglected in spiritual matters in many parts of England. Yet there are some things which excite one’s regret in their practices, and of these none

* “Who does as he would be done by, in buying or selling? particularly selling horses? Write him a knave that does not, and the Methodist knave is the worst of all knaves.”—*Wesley’s Large Minutes*, Q. 13.

† Snuff-taking and drams are expressly forbidden.

‡ In May, 1776, an order was made in the House of Lords, “That the Commissioners of His Majesty’s Excise do write circular letters to all such persons whom they have reason to suspect to have plate, as also to those who have not paid regularly the duty on the same.” In consequence of this order, the accountant-general for household plate, sent a copy of it to John Wesley. The answer was as follows:

Sir,

I have *two* silver teaspoons in London, and two at Bristol: this is all the plate which I have at present, and I shall not buy any more while so many round me want bread.

I am, sir, your most humble servant,

JOHN WESLEY.

displeases me more than the familiar use of Scripture language, which when properly and judiciously applied is striking and solemn; but to hear every notion of enthusiastic ignorance, every rise and fall of the animal spirits, expressed in the language of the Apostles and Evangelists, and even of our Lord himself; to witness their familiarity with the Almighty, their full trust and confidence in the reality of small miracles wrought at their request;—must always be painful to a soberly religious mind. In a book entitled “The Bank of Faith,” the author asserts, that a dog brought him mutton to eat, that fish died at night in a pond on purpose to be eaten by him in the morning, and that money, clothes, &c., in short, everything he could desire, he attained by prayer.*

An old woman of Wesley’s society, named Mary Hubbard, would often wash her linen, hang it out to dry, and go away to work in the fields, or to Taunton Market, four miles from her house, and when blamed for thus leaving her linen unprotected, she would reply that “the Lord watched over her and all that she had, and that he would prevent any person from stealing her two old smocks, or if He permitted them to be stolen, He would send her two new ones in their stead.” I seriously assure you, says the author who relates this tale, and who at one time went even greater lengths† than this old wo-

* “I used my prayers,” says the author of the ‘Bank of Faith,’ “as gunners do swivels; turning them every way as the cases required.” Wesley relates in his Journal, that “By prayer he used to cure a violent pain in his head,” &c.

† This writer, the celebrated Lackington the bookseller relates the following occurrence soon after he turned Methodist. “One Sunday morning at eight o’clock, my mistress seeing her sons set off, and knowing they were gone to a Methodist meeting, determined to prevent me from doing the same, by locking the door; on which, in a superstitious mood, I opened the Bible for direction what to do, and the first words I read were these, “He shall give his angels charge concerning thee, lest at any time thou dash thy foot against a stone.” This was enough for me, so without a moment’s hesitation I ran up two pair of stairs to my own room, and out of the window I leapt to the great terror of my poor mistress. My feet and ankles were most in-

man, "that there are many thousand Mary Hubbards among the Methodists."

It may be added, that their strict abstinence from the common amusements of the world, even where innocent in themselves, has its evils, as I have already noticed when speaking of the Quakers; for the mind cannot always be kept in a state of tension, and if we refuse ourselves recreation altogether, there is danger that we shall find the yoke of Christ a wearisome instead of an easy one, and cast it off in disgust; nay, I am afraid that if we were to inquire closely, we should find instances enough of this result to demonstrate, what indeed wants but little proof, i. e., that God knows better than we do "whereof we are made," and that it is not wisdom to bind a heavy burden on our shoulders when Christ himself has declared that his is light. Still, though tinged with a degree of enthusiasm which we may regret, the doctrine of the Wesleyan Methodists retains the fundamental parts of Christianity, and after reading the following extracts from Wesley's Sermons, I think you will hardly forbear asking, Why is this a separate sect?

"Justifying Faith implies not only a Divine *ελεγχος*, evidence or conviction, that 'God was in Christ reconciling the world to himself,' but a sure trust and confidence that Christ died for *my* sins, that he loved *me*, and gave himself for me; and the moment a penitent sinner believes this, God pardons and absolves him."* "Chris-

tolerably bruised, so that I was obliged to be put to bed; and it was more than a month before I recovered the use of my limbs. I was then ignorant enough to think that *the Lord had not used me very well*; and I resolved *not to put so much trust in him* for the future. My rash adventure made a great noise in the town, and was talked of many miles round. Some few admired my prodigious strength of faith; but the major part pitied me as a poor ignorant, deluded, and infatuated boy."

* Wesley's Works, vol. xii. p. 49. Some of Wesley's expressions, when confronted with each other, appear incompatible; in such cases the main drift of the writer must always be considered; for it is much more usual to fail in expressing our meaning, than to express contradictory opinions: since the latter implies a cerebral defect verging on insanity; the former

tian perfection does not imply, as some men seem to have imagined, an exemption either from ignorance, or mistake, or infirmities, or temptations; indeed it is only another term for holiness: thus every one that is holy, is in the Scripture sense 'perfect.' We may yet observe that neither in this respect is there absolute perfection on earth."* "If the Scriptures are true, those who are holy or religious in the judgment of God himself, those who are endued with the faith that purifies the heart, that produces a good conscience; those who live by faith in the Son of God; those who are sanctified by the blood of the Covenant may nevertheless so fall from God as to perish everlastingly, therefore let him who thinketh he standeth take heed lest he fall." "In strictness neither our faith nor our works justify us, i. e., *deserve* the remission of our sins, but God himself justifies us of his own mercy through the merits of his Son only."†

merely results from a faulty style. Scripture does not anywhere warrant us in saying "*the moment* a penitent sinner," &c.; but requires from us a proof of this belief by actions conformable to it. God has promised us immortality through his Son, only if we not merely believe, but "*do that which is lawful and right.*"

* Wesley censured some of his preachers for pushing the doctrine of perfection too far.

† Wesley's Works, vol. viii. p. 219; and vol. xi. p. 415.

LETTER V.

GENERAL BAPTISTS, MORAVIANS, SWEDENBORGIANS,
PLYMOUTH BRETHREN.

AMONG the sects which arose about the period of the Reformation of the church in the sixteenth century, we find the Anabaptists* playing rather a conspicuous part, by exciting political tumults in Saxony and the adjacent countries. For this, Munzer, their leader, after the defeat of his forces, was put to death, and the sect generally was proscribed, and the profession of its doctrines punished capitally. What those doctrines were is not easy, nor is it essential now, to state, since the modern sect, which we now term Baptists, retain only so much of them as relates to baptism by immersion, and of adults only, and the rejection of episcopal church government.

The more modern sect is subdivided into General and Particular Baptists. The General or Arminian Baptists admit "much latitude in their system of religious doctrine, which consists in such general principles, that their communion is accessible to Christians of almost all denominations, and accordingly they tolerate in fact, and receive among them persons of every sect, who profess themselves Christians, and receive the Holy Scriptures as the source of truth, and the rule of faith."† They agree with the PARTICULAR BAPTISTS in this, that they admit to baptism adults only, and administer that sacrament either by dipping or total immersion; but they differ from them

* So called from their habit of rebaptizing those who entered their communion. They were afterwards called *Antipædobaptists*, from their objection to *pædo* or infant baptism; and finally, the English habit of abbreviation of words at all commonly used, contracted the word into *Baptist*.

† Mösheim, Ecc. Hist., Cent., XVI., Sect. iii. Part 2.

in another respect, for they repeat the administration of baptism to those who had received it, either in a state of infancy, or by aspersion instead of dipping: for if the common accounts may be believed, the Particular Baptists do not carry matters so far.

The General Baptists consider their sect as the only true church; in baptism they dip only once and not three times as was the practice in the primitive church: and they consider it a matter of indifference whether that sacrament be administered in the name of Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, or in that of Christ alone.* they adopt the doctrine of Menno with regard to the Millenium; many of them also embrace his particular opinion concerning the origin of Christ's body.† They look upon the precept of the apostles prohibiting the use of blood and of things strangled, as a law that was designed to be in force in all ages and periods of the church: they believe that the soul, from the moment that the body dies until its resurrection at the last day, remains in a state of perfect insensibility: they use the ceremony of extreme unction, and finally, to omit matters of a more trifling nature, several of them observe the Jewish as well as the Christian Sabbath.‡ In some of their churches they have three distinct orders separately ordained, i. e., messengers, elders, and deacons; and their general assembly (where a minister preaches, and the churches are taken into consideration), is held annually in London on the Tuesday in Whitsun week, and they afterwards dine together. They have met thus for upwards of a century.

The propriety of the exclusive application of the term "Baptists" to those who baptize adults by immersion, has been questioned; and for this reason they are by many styled Antipædobaptists,§ namely, opposers of in-

* Milton belonged to the class of Anti-Trinitarian General Baptists.

† That the body of Jesus was not derived from the substance of the blessed Virgin, but created in her womb by an omnipotent act of the Holy Spirit.

‡ V. Mosheim's Ecc. Hist.

§ All who baptize infants may be termed Pædo-baptists; the

fant baptism; but the term Anabaptist should not be applied to them, it being a term of reproach.

The old General Baptists have been on the decline for many years; their churches are principally in Kent and Sussex. The English and most foreign Baptists consider a personal profession of faith, and immersion in water, essential to baptism: this profession is generally made before the church at a church meeting. Some have a creed, and expect the candidate for baptism to assent to it, and give a circumstantial account of his conversion: others only require him to profess himself a Christian. The former generally consider baptism as an ordinance which initiates persons into a particular church, and they say, that without breach of Christian liberty, they have a right to expect an agreement in articles of faith in their own societies. The latter think that baptism initiates into the Christian religion generally, and therefore think that they have no right to require an assent to their creed from such as do not join their churches. They quote the baptism of the Eunuch in Acts viii. in proof.

The first mention of the Baptists in English History, is as the subject of persecution in the reign of Henry VIII. During that of Edward VI., a commission was issued to bishops and other persons "to try all Anabaptists, heretics, and despisers of the common prayer," and they were empowered, in the event of their contumacy, to commit them to the flames. The same inhuman policy was persisted in under Elizabeth. The last Baptist martyr burned in England was Edward Wightman; he was condemned by the Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry,* and burned at Lichfield, April 11, 1612.†

The celebrated Whiston became a Baptist towards the close of his life, retaining nevertheless his Arian belief.

word is derived from the Greek *παις* a child or infant, and *βαπτω* to baptize.

* Yet the bishop ought to have known that baptism by immersion was practised in the church for many centuries, and the rubric of our common prayer leaves the option of immersion or aspersion.

† Condor's View, p. 380.

The MORAVIANS are supposed to have derived their origin from Nicholas Lewis, Count Zinzendorf, a German nobleman, who died in 1760. The society, however, assert that they are descended from the old Moravian and Bohemian Brethren, who existed as a distinct sect sixty years prior to the Reformation. No sooner had these Moravian Brethren heard of Luther's bold testimony to the truth, and of the success which attended his labors, than they sent in the year 1522 two deputies to assure him of "the deep interest which they took in his work;" giving him, at the same time, an account of their own doctrine and constitution. They were most kindly received; and both Luther, and his colleague Bucer, recognized the Moravians as holding the same faith; and bore honorable testimony to the purity of their doctrine, and the excellence of their discipline. The chief doctrine of the Moravian society is, that "by the sacrifice for sin made by Jesus Christ, and by that alone, grace and deliverance from sin are to be obtained for all mankind:" and they steadfastly maintain the following points:—

1. The divinity of Christ.
2. The atonement and satisfaction made for us by Jesus Christ; and that by his merits alone we receive freely the forgiveness of sin, and sanctification in soul and body.
3. The doctrine of the Holy Spirit, and the operations of his grace. That it is he who worketh in us conviction of sin, faith in Christ, and pureness of heart.
4. That faith must evidence itself by willing obedience to the commandments of God from love and gratitude.

The internal constitution of the ancient church of the Moravians, which is still substantially adhered to, was originally adopted in 1457, and more definitely settled in 1616 by the Synod of Zerawitz. Its principal peculiarities are,

1. Every church is divided into three classes, *i. e.*, 1. *Beginners* or *Catechumens*. 2. *The more advanced* or *communicants*, who are considered as members of the church.

3. *The perfect*, consisting of such as have persevered for some time in a course of true piety. From this last class are chosen in every church *the Elders*, from three to eight in number.

2. Every congregation is directed by a board of elders, whose province it is to have a watchful eye over its members with respect to the doctrine and deportment. Once in three months these elders are bound to visit the houses of the brethren, in order to observe their conduct, and to ascertain whether every one is laboring diligently in his calling, &c., of which they make a report to the pastor. They also are required to visit the sick, and assist the poorer brethren with money, contributed by the members of the church, and deposited in an alms box.

3. The ministration of the Word and Sacrament is performed either by members who have received ordination from the bishops of the church of the brethren, or by those who have received that of the Calvinist or Lutheran church. The deacons, according to the ancient constitution of the church, are the chief assistants of the pastors, and are considered as candidates for the ministry. The bishops, who are nominated by the ministers, appoint the pastors to their stations, and have the power of removing them when they think fit, and of ordaining the deacons as well as the ministers. Every bishop is appointed to superintend a certain number of churches, and has two or three co-bishops, who, if necessary, supply their place. The ancient church appointed some of its members to the business of watching over the civil affairs of the congregation, under the name of *Seniores Civiles*, who were ordained with imposition of hands. This office is still continued. The synods, which are held every three or four years, are composed of the bishops and their co-bishops, the *Seniores Civiles*, and of "such servants of the church and of the congregation as are called to the synod by the former elders' conference, appointed by the previous synod, or commissioned to attend it as deputies from particular congregations." Several female elders also are usually present at the synods, but they have no vote. All the transactions of the synod are com-

mitted to writing, and communicated to the several congregations.

A liturgy, peculiar to the Brethren, is regularly used as a part of the morning service on the Sabbath; on other occasions the minister offers extempore prayer. The singing of hymns is considered as an essential part of worship, and many of their services consist entirely of singing. At the baptism of children, both the witnesses and the minister bless the infant, with laying on of hands immediately after the rite. The Lord's Supper is celebrated every month: love feasts are frequently held, *i. e.*, the members eat and drink together in fellowship: cakes and tea are distributed during the singing of some verses by the congregation. The washing of feet is practised at present only at certain seasons by the whole congregation, and on some other occasions in the choirs. Dying persons are blessed for their departure by the elders, during prayer and singing a verse with imposition of hands. At funerals, the pastor accompanies the corpse to the burial-place with the singing of hymns; and an address is delivered at the grave. Marriages are, by general agreement, never contracted without the advice and concurrence of the elders.* The casting of lots is used among them to know, as they express it, "The will of the Lord."†

With regard to discipline, "the Church of the Brethren have agreed upon certain rules and orders. These are laid before every one, that desires to become a member of the church, for his consideration. Whoever after having voluntarily agreed to them, does not act conformably, falls under congregation discipline." This has

* Marriage is enumerated in one of the Moravian hymns amongst the services of danger, for which the United Brethren are "to hold themselves prepared."

"You as yet single are but little tried,
Invited to the supper of the bride,
That like the former warrior each may stand
Ready for land, sea, marriage, at command."

† See Latrobe's edition of Spangenburg's Exposition of Christian Doctrine.

various degrees, and consists in admonitions, warnings, and-reproofs, continued until genuine repentance and a real conversion become evident in the offender, when he is re-admitted to the holy communion, or reconciled to the congregation, after a deprecatory letter has been read, expressing the offender's sorrow for his transgression, and asking forgiveness. The Brethren assert that the church government in the established Protestant churches "does not apply to the congregations of the Brethren, because they never were intended to form a national establishment: for their design is no other than to be a true and living congregation of Jesus Christ, and to build up each other as a spiritual house of God, to the end that the kingdom of Jesus Christ may be furthered by them." Hence the doctrine of Jesus and his Apostles, and the order and practice of the Apostolic churches, are the models by which they wish to be formed. It may be added, that they are generally the most successful missionaries, and that their society seems the most nearly to realize the practice of the early Christians, of any sect now remaining.

THE SWEDENBORGIANS take their name from Emmanuel Swedenborg, who was born at Stockholm in 1683. His father was Jasper Swedberg, Bishop of West Gothland. He received his education chiefly in the University of Upsala; and in 1716 was appointed by Charles XII. Assessor of the Royal College of Sciences: he was ennobled by Queen Ulrica Eleonora, and received the name of Swedenborg. He published scientific works on various subjects, but in 1747 he resigned his office, in order, as he himself states, that he might be more at liberty to attend to that new function which he considered himself called to, and the rest of his life was spent in composing and publishing the voluminous works which contain his peculiar doctrines. He died in 1772. He was a man of blameless life and amiable deportment, and was distinguished for his attainments in mathematics and mechanics.

His writings are so very obscure, that it is difficult to state what are the opinions contained in them; he taught,

however, that by the New Jerusalem which came down from heaven, was intended a new church as to doctrine, and that he was the person to whom this doctrine was revealed, and who was appointed to make it known to the world. Swedenborg made no attempt to found a sect; but after his death, his followers, in 1788, formed themselves into a society under the denomination of "The New Jerusalem Church." They have several places of meeting, both in London and Manchester, and send delegates to a "General Conference," under whose direction a liturgy has been prepared, from which I shall make a few extracts to show the peculiar doctrines of this sect.

The following are some of the questions asked of the candidate for ordination, which is performed by imposition of hands, of course of a minister of their own communion.

"*Min.* Dost thou believe that Jehovah God is One both in Essence and in Person; in whom, nevertheless, is the Divine Trinity of Father, Son, and Holy Spirit; and that these are, his Essential Divinity, his Divine Humanity, and his Divine Proceeding, which are the three Essentials of One God, answering to the soul, the body, and the operative energy, in man, and that the Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ is that God?"

"Dost thou believe that by his temptations, the last of which was the passion of the cross, the Lord united, in his Humanity, Divine Truth to Divine Good, or Divine Wisdom to Divine Love, and so returned into his Divinity in which he was from eternity, together with, and in, his Glorified Humanity?"

"Dost thou believe that the sacred Scripture, or Word of God, is Divine Truth itself, and that it contains a spiritual and celestial sense, heretofore unknown, whence it is divinely inspired and holy in every syllable; as well as a literal sense, which is the basis and support of its spiritual and celestial sense?"

"Dost thou believe that the books which have the internal sense and are truly the Word of God are,—the five books of Moses, Joshua, Judges, the two books of Samuel, the two books of Kings, the Psalms of David, the prophets,

including the Lamentations of Jeremiah, the four Gospels, and the Revelation?"*

It is further stated in their eleventh article of Faith, "That immediately after death, which is only putting off of the material body, never to be resumed, man rises again in a spiritual or substantial body, in which he continues to live to eternity."

On these doctrines it may be observed that the forms of worship founded on them are not such as Christ and his apostles ordered. The doxology is, "To Jesus Christ be glory and dominion for ever and ever;" the blessing "The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with you all." The prayers are addressed to the "blessed Lord Jesus." Whereas Christ, when he gave us a form of prayer, bade us address "our Father in heaven;" and bade us ask of the Father in his name; and the form of the apostolic doxology is, "To God only wise be glory through Jesus Christ forever;"† and the blessing, "Grace be unto you and peace from God our Father, and from the Lord Jesus Christ."‡ As at this time Christ had ascended from the earth, had the human nature been entirely merged in the divine, as this sect asserts, Paul the Apostle would not have made this distinction, which implies that the Lord Jesus still existed somewhere in his human form as the everlasting visible temple of the Invisible father of all things, for "no man hath seen God at any time," says the beloved Apostle,§ and this is confirmed by Christ himself.|| If the man then be lost in the Deity, it follows that the Lord Jesus exists no more for us. I am aware that this consequence is denied by the sect, but it is a self-evident proposition: for their creed runs thus, "I believe in one God in whom is a Divine Trinity, &c., and that this God is the Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, who is Jehovah in a glorified human form." Now a human form must have some properties of matter; it must be visible, and circumscribed, or it is not form; and what is circumscribed and visible cannot be God, who, of necessity, is

* Litany of the New Church. Office of ordination, p. 151.

† Rom. xxi. 27.

† 1 Cor. i. 3.

§ John i. 18.

|| John vi. 46.

uncircumscribed, and therefore invisible. The infinite Eternal Omnipotent Deity *must* be where that glorified body is not: therefore, the Great Father of all things must always be the object of worship, through Jesus Christ, who is the *visible* image of his glory. The *form* of baptism is retained by this sect, though they assert that the rite was "constantly administered by the Apostles in the name of Christ alone;" an assertion contradicted by the whole testimony of antiquity from the earliest times; adding, "nevertheless it is well to use the express words of the Lord, when it is known and acknowledged in the church that the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit are not three separate persons but three Divine Essentials, constituting the single Divine Person of our Lord Jesus Christ."* With regard to the "internal sense" of Scripture, it is sufficient to observe that if "every syllable" were to be considered as inspired and holy, the long list of various readings would grievously shake our faith, though these are quite immaterial as to the general meaning.

There are serious objections to the distinctive tenets of this sect, yet, in justice to them, it must be allowed that the unguarded language of some preachers does so split up the Deity into separate individuals as to make the doctrine so taught a complete tritheism, and that a serious mind returning to the express declaration of the Scripture, that God is One, may be so far shocked by such unmeasured expressions, as to run into the extreme which I have condemned. Unitarianism on the one hand, and the doctrine of Swedenborg on the other, have equally sprung from a want of proper caution when speaking of the different manifestations of the Deity, and an unmeasured itch for the definition of things too far beyond the reach of our finite faculties to admit of any precision of terms. *Words* were formed for the things pertaining to earth; how then can they ever exactly express the nature of the Deity?

Notwithstanding the faith professed by this sect, their

* Liturgy of the New Church Office of Baptism, p. 58.

teaching, nevertheless, returns to the doctrine of the Gospel. In a tract "on the true meaning of the intercession of Jesus Christ," published at Manchester by their own religious tract society, we have the following passage: "The Humanity named Jesus is the medium whereby man may come to God, because the Father, *heretofore invisible*, is manifested and made *visible* and *approachable* in him. This is meant by *our coming unto God by him*;" and elsewhere, as we cannot obtain this "light of life" without following the Lord, and doing his will, as he did the will of the Father, agreeably to his own saying, "If ye keep my commandments, even as I have kept my Father's commandments, and abide in his love;" so neither can we obtain that divine food by which our spiritual life is to be sustained, unless we labor for it, as the Lord himself instructed us when he said "Labor for the meat which endureth unto everlasting life;" and is it not of the greatest importance clearly to understand what this labor implies? Let the reader be assured that he must labor in that spiritual vineyard which the Lord desires to plant in his soul, in order that it may bear abundant fruits of righteousness to the glory of his heavenly father."* Thus we see again that the fundamental doctrines of Christianity *will* find their way, however men may speculatively disclaim them. Why then do we differ outwardly, when at heart we agree?

The PLYMOUTH BRETHREN, so called probably from the place where this society first arose, do not allow themselves to be a sect, though in their practices they differ considerably from those of the Established Church. They meet together on the morning of the first day of the week to celebrate the Lord's Supper, when any "Brother" is at liberty to speak for mutual edification. In the afternoon and evening, when they have preachers, the services are similar to those in the Congregational Churches (Independents): the desk, however, for they condemn pulpits, is not occupied by one man, but used as a convenient

* "Jesus the Fountain of Life and Light," p. 12.

place for speaking, being alternately occupied by the "Brother" who reads the hymn, the one who prays, and the one who teaches or preaches the Word. There are also "Meetings for Prayer," and what are technically called "reading meetings;" when a chapter is read, and those "Brethren" who have made it matter of reflection, speak upon it clause by clause for their mutual instruction.

Before a person is acknowledged a "Brother," his name is announced at one of the times of "meeting together to break bread," as it is termed, and if nothing occurs in the interval, he takes his seat with them the next Sunday.* Any one is admitted to their communion whom they believe to be "a child of God;" but they do not receive or acknowledge him as a brother, "while in actual connection with any of the various forms of worldliness," i. e., the other churches of Christ. Their preachers move about from place to place, forming different congregations, which they again leave for other places where their services are required. None of their ministers receive any *stipulated* charity. The "Brethren" disapprove of any association of Christians for any purpose whatever, whether civil or religious, and therefore discountenance all Sunday School, Bible, Missionary, or even purely Benevolent, Societies. They do not disapprove of sending either Bibles or Missionaries to the heathen; but they say that if they go at all, "God and not the church must send them." They do not think that the Gospel is to convert the world, but that it is to be "preached as a witness to" or rather against "all nations." The world, they say, "is reserved for judgment, and therefore it is wholly contrary to the character of a Christian to have anything to do with it or its government." When a child of God is born again, "he lays," say they, "all his worldly relations down at the feet of Christ, and he is at liberty to take up none but those which he can take up in the Lord." They neither pray for pardon of sin, nor for the presence and influence of the Spirit, and carefully exclude such petitions from their hymns. Many of them think it

* In some places it is not till the end of a fortnight.

inconsistent with the Christian character to amass wealth, or to possess furniture or clothing more than is *necessary* for health and cleanliness; and very great sacrifices have been made by the more wealthy of them.

These are most of them unimportant peculiarities; but the great feature of this sect, for so, notwithstanding their protest, I must call these "Brethren," is a degree of self-approbation and uncharitableness for others, which, to say the least, is not what Christ taught. "No sect," says Rust,* "is more sectarian, and none more separate from Christians of all denominations than 'The Plymouth Brethren.'" The Church of Rome they consider "bad." The Church of England "bad." "A popish priest and a parish priest, both bad;" "but infinitely worse," says one of the Brethren (a Captain Hall), "is a people's preacher." They occasionally indulge in what they term "biting jests and sarcastic raillery," of the ministers of our church, and of those who differ from them, which evince but little of the meek and peaceable spirit of the Gospel;† for, as

* Examination of the opinions of the Plymouth Brethren.

† The following is a sample from one of their published works: "The first eclogue of Virgil has always appeared to me to express most felicitously the pleasures of a *pastoral* life as we too frequently see it in these days. With what force the following lines describe the grateful feeling of a *young clergyman*, who is recounting the benefits conferred on him by his patron :

O Melibœe, Deus nobis hæc otia fecit.
 Namque erit ille mihi semper Deus—
 Ille meas errare boves, ut cernis, et ipsum
 Ludere, quæ vellem, calamo permisit agresti.

My patron shall always be a divinity to me, for he put me into this life of ease when he gave me this *gem*, the *prettiest living in England*. He gave me this *easy duty*, so that I can let my flock wander wheresoever it may please them, as you see they do; while I myself do just what I like, and occasionally amuse myself with a *pianoforte* by Stoddart, that cost eighty-five guineas."

"He (the congregational minister) is now, in his own opinion, the *ONE MAN* of the whole body of believers in all the services of the sanctuary. He utters all their sentiments of faith and doctrine, and offers up all their prayers! How can he justify the position he has assumed as *an usurper*? yea as a *grievous*

Lord Bacon has well observed, "to intermix Scripture with scurrility in one sentence;—the majesty of religion and the contempt and deformity of things ridiculous,—is a thing far from the reverence of a devout Christian, and hardly becoming the honest regard of a sober man."

If I have appeared to speak harshly of this sect, it is because they seem to me to have abandoned so much of the spirit of the Gospel. "If the tenets of the Plymouth Brethren be consistent with themselves," observes Mr. Rust, "they necessarily withdraw them from all society, and every existing form of Christianity, shutting them out from all co-operation with the holy and benevolent, for the relief and blessing of their poor or sinful fellow-creatures, making it sinful to fulfil the duties of a subject, a citizen," &c. But I hope and believe that these tenets must be and are counteracted by the instinctive love of our kind, which for the benefit of the world God has implanted in man. The human race is so essentially social that they who endeavor to dissociate mankind, stand in much the same situation as he would do who should hope to dam up the ocean. It is in fact to these silent tendencies of human nature, whose force we never know till we attempt to check them, that we owe much of the innocuousness of false or overstrained opinions: the reason is deluded, but the feelings which the Creator has made a part of our very being, generally correct the false argument; and the man, if not previously corrupted by vice, acts right though he argues wrong.

wolf! in that he has swallowed up *all the gifts of the Holy Ghost in the voracity of his selfishness,*" &c. It is not thus that the "unity of the church," which they profess to desire, is likely to be cemented.

LETTER VI.

CALVINISM.

I HAVE already noticed that the sects into which the reformed churches are split, may be classified generally under two great divisions, the one adopting mainly the milder views of Melancthon, whose advice was much used in the reform of the Anglican church; the other following those of Calvin, which were chiefly carried out at Geneva, the birthplace of that reformer, and among the Huguenots of France. It may be well, therefore, before we proceed to notice the particular sects which profess to combine in a greater or less degree the doctrines usually termed Calvinistic, to examine what the opinions are which pass under that name.*

It was at the Synod of Dort, which was assembled in the year 1618, that these opinions received a decided form; for James Arminius, professor of divinity in the University of Leyden, having rejected some part of the Genevan doctrine respecting predestination and grace, this synod was called in order to settle the disputed points. After much debate the opinions of Arminius were condemned, and the doctrine of Calvin was summed up in five points, which gave name to what has been called the Quinqueticular controversy between the Calvinistic and Anti-calvinistic divines of Holland. They related to,

1. Predestination or Election.
2. The extent of redemption.
3. Moral depravity and impotency.†

* Bishop Jewel, in his "Defence of his apology for the Church of England," says, that "the term *Calvinist* was in the first instance applied to the Reformers and the English Protestants as a matter of reproach by the Church of Rome."

† Whatever difference may have existed between Luther and Calvin on the subject of Divine decrees, no language can

4. Effectual calling.

5. Final perseverance of the sanctified.

Calvinists are understood to maintain that predestination is absolute; redemption limited; moral impotency total; grace inevitable; and the salvation of the believer certain. But among Calvinistic as among Arminian divines, there are many shades of difference indicated by the terms *high* Calvinist, and *moderate* Calvinist, *sub lapsarian* and *supra lapsarian*, *scholastic* Calvinism and *popular* Calvinism; which latter has been described as "the Augustinian theology strained off from its mathematics." These all differ so materially that Bishop Horsley found it necessary to admonish his clergy "to beware how they aimed their shaft at Calvinism before they knew what it is, and what it is not;" a great part of what ignorantly goes under that name, being "closely interwoven with the very rudiments of Christianity." I believe, however, that though differences may subsist among Calvinists themselves, as to the explication of their doctrines, they generally allow,

1. That God has chosen a certain number in Christ, to everlasting glory before the foundation of the world, according to his immutable purpose, and of his free grace and love; without the least foresight of faith, good works, or any conditions performed by the creature; and that the rest of mankind he was pleased to pass by, and ordain them to dishonor and wrath for their sins to the praise of his vindictive justice.

2. That Christ by his death and sufferings made an atonement only for the sins of the elect.*

3. That mankind are *totally* depraved in consequence of the fall.

4. That all whom God has predestined to life, he is pleased in his appointed time effectually to call by his Word and Spirit out of that state of sin and death in

be stronger than that in which Luther insists upon the moral impotence of man's depraved nature in opposition to the Pelagian doctrine of free will.

* It is difficult to reconcile this doctrine with 2 Cor. v. 14, 15. 1 Tim. ii. 6. 2 Pet. iii. 9. Rom. viii. 32. 1 Tim. iv. 10, &c.

which they are by nature, to grace and salvation by Jesus Christ.

5. That those whom God has effectually called and sanctified by his Spirit, shall never finally fall from a state of grace.

The prominent feature, then, of the Calvinistic system,* is the election of some, and reprobation of others from all eternity; but to this we may answer, that if all mankind are really appointed to sin and punishment, holiness and salvation irrespectively to any act of their own, then they will be judged in exact opposition to our Saviour's

* The best account of their system is to be found in "The Assembly's Catechism," which is taught their children. To this sect belongs more particularly the doctrine of *Atonement*, or, "that Christ by his death made satisfaction to the Divine justice for the *Elect*; appeasing the anger of the Divine Being, and effecting on his part a reconciliation." That thus Christ had, as they term it, "the sin of the Elect laid upon him." But some of their teachers do not hold this opinion, but consider Christ's death as simply a medium through which God has been pleased to exercise mercy towards the penitent. "The sacrifice of Christ," says Dr. Magee, "was never deemed by any (who did not wish to calumniate the doctrine of atonement) to have made God placable: but merely viewed as the means appointed by Divine wisdom by which to bestow forgiveness." To this it may be further added, that the language used throughout the Epistles of St. Paul with regard to the redemption of man is that of the then familiar slave market. Man is "bought with a price" from his former master, Sin, for the service of God. The scholar who will consult Romans vi. will see immediately that all the metaphors used are those of purchase for military service: "Your members," says he, ver. 13, "shall not be the arms (*ὄπλα*) of unrighteousness used for the service of sin; but the arms (*ὄπλα*) of righteousness for God. And ver 23, τὰ γὰρ ὀφάνια τῆς ἀμαρτίας, θάνατος· τὸ δὲ χάρισμα τῷ Θεῷ, ζωὴ, αἰώνιος ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ τῷ κυρίῳ ἡμῶν. i. e. The rations of sin are death, but the donative of God is eternal life, by means of Jesus Christ our Lord. It is impossible to express more clearly that it was not the wrath of God which required to be appeased by the great sacrifice—the slave was *bought by Him for Himself*—the price was of course paid to another. Much misunderstanding has arisen from the careless interpretation of these and the like passages, whose phraseology has become obsolete along with the practice of buying and selling slaves, at least in this country.

declaration, that he will reward every man *according to his works*.* and again, that it is "not the will of 'our' Father which is in heaven that one of those little ones," i. e. children, "should perish."† These declarations would, I think, sufficiently prove that St. Paul's expressions on the subject relate to national, and not individual election, even had the Apostle himself left his meaning unexplained: for the servant is not greater than his master, and it is not possible that an inspired Apostle should preach a doctrine different from that of Him who commissioned him; but if I mistake not, he has himself taken especial care that his meaning on this important subject should *not* be misunderstood. For, first, it is a notorious fact, though often overlooked in argument, that the very passage, "I will have mercy on whom I will have mercy, and I will have compassion on whom I will have compassion," which is the main support claimed for the doctrine of absolute decrees, is quoted from Exodus, and forms the assurance given by God himself to Moses, that He had separated *the Hebrew nation* from all the people on the face of the earth.‡ Again St. Paul has asserted that God will render to *every man according to his deeds*, for there is *no respect of persons* with God.§ God will have *all men* to be saved, &c. &c.

God forbid that we should consider that a man may not be a sincere Christian, who believes himself irrevocably called, "elect," and inevitably secure of his salvation; or declare that a strict Calvinist cannot be attached to our church: but St. Paul teaches that "Christ died for all;" that grace instead of being irresistible *may* be received in vain; that those who have been once justified instead of being *sure* of "final perseverance" and salvation, *may* "sin wilfully after they have received the knowledge of the truth," and "draw back to perdition," so that it

* Matt. xvi. 27.

† Matt. xviii. 14.

‡ Vide Exod. xxxiii. 14, et seq.

§ According to the Calvinistic doctrine above stated, character has no concern whatever with their call; ergo, if this is right, St. Paul is wrong, and mankind *are* called with respect of persons.

behoves every one "who thinketh he standeth to take heed lest he fall."*

In regard to "irresistible" (special) "grace," Scripture assures us that grace sufficient for salvation is denied to none; for St. Paul in every passage of the Epistles, which relates to grace, declares that the Spirit works in the souls of *all*, enabling them, if they do not obstinately resist it, "to work out their salvation." The following passage is taken from the work of a teacher of the doctrine of Special Grace. "The reign of sin consists not in the multitude, greatness or prevalency of sins, for all these are consistent with a state of grace, and may be in a child of God, in whom sin doth not and cannot reign; but in the in-being of sin without grace, whether it act more or less violently, yea, whether it acts at all or no: yet if the habit of sin possess the soul without any principle of grace implanted, which is contrary to it, that man may be said to be still under the dominion of sin. This mortification then of sin, as to its reigning power, is completed in the first act of conversion and regeneration."† But this language is by no means that of St. Paul: for the writer makes grace the test of holiness; whereas the apostle, following therein the doctrine of his master,—“by their fruits ye shall know them,”—makes holiness the test of grace. Indeed the obscurity and perplexing nature of the doctrine above quoted, stands in no favorable contrast with the simple and clear declaration of the Saviour, that we “do not gather grapes of thorns, nor figs of thistles,”—and that therefore the heart must be known by the words and actions: and the no less decided and simple exposition of the doctrine of Christ, by the beloved disciple, “Little children, let no man deceive you: he that doeth righteousness is righteous: . . . he that committeth sin is of the devil. Whosoever is born of God *doth not commit sin* . . .

* “This system (Calvinism) by setting aside the idea of a human will, leaves the doctrine of Divine Will barren and unmeaning; the idea of a personal ruler disappears, and those most anxious to assert the government of the Living God have been the great instruments in propagating the notion of an atheistical necessity.” *Maurice's Kingdom of Christ*.

† Hopkins on the New Birth.

whosoever doeth not righteousness is not of God.”* The doctrine of the *total* depravity of human nature, it appears to me, cannot be proved from Scripture any more than the two former. St. John, whilst asserting that no man is wholly without sin, exhorts to efforts, and supposes a possible state of Christian perfection in his converts, wholly incompatible with a state of entire corruption: and St. Paul, though he clearly states that sin has brought all men under condemnation, and that the unspirituality of the flesh can only be successfully opposed by the influence of the Holy Spirit, does not declare the consequences of the Fall in terms such as we find in the Calvinistic writers—as “Man, instead of the image of God, was now become the image of the devil; instead of the citizen of heaven, he was become the bond-slave of hell, having in himself no one part of his former purity, but being altogether spotted and defiled—now he seemed to be nothing else but a lump of sin.” And again: “Man is of his own nature fleshly and corrupt, &c., without any spark of goodness in him; only given to evil thoughts and evil deeds.” Even human nature, if closely examined, does not bear testimony to this as truth: for either the grace of God is accorded in such large measure to man from his birth, that none can be considered as wholly bad; or the utter corruption preached by Calvin does not exist. All experience may be appealed to on this point, even that of the persons who use the above language; for if they search their own hearts in sincerity, they will become conscious of amiable affections, and admiration of what is good and right: neither, probably, are they guilty of any such gross and habitual sins, as must mark a nature so wholly depraved. The Calvinist therefore can only use these strong phrases with certain grains of allowance: and he would be wiser if he were to avoid offending his—if he prefer so to call him—weaker brother, by technical terms which he himself cannot use in their *full force* before the Searcher of hearts.

* 1 John iii. 7—10; see also v. 21 of the same chapter, where our confidence towards God is shown to depend on the judgment of our own consciousness of wrong or well doing. The whole chapter is well worth the study of every Christian.

LETTER VII.

PRESBYTERIANS. INDEPENDENTS.

WHEN the preaching of Luther and his coadjutors had effectually called men's attention to the affairs of the church, it was natural that questions with regard to its government no less than its doctrine, should be freely mooted. The usurpations of Rome had a tendency to disgust the Reformers with episcopal government, and accordingly we find both Calvin and Luther establishing a more republican form; and instead of giving the ecclesiastical power into the hands of one man, they judged it proper to delegate it to the elders (presbyters) of each church respectively; subject only to the control of the majority of a general synod. Such was the origin of what we now term Presbyterians as a sect: for in *England* more moderate councils, and the circumstance that the reformed tenets were embraced by many of the bishops, led to retaining the Episcopal form of church government. In *Scotland*, after a struggle, the Presbyterian form was finally established, and the church or kirk of that part of Great Britain is regulated upon that system. A secession has lately taken place on the question of the right of presentation to livings, but the *doctrine* taught in both is nearly similar, *i. e.*, that of the Calvinistic churches.

The General Synod of Ulster (originally a branch of the established kirk of Scotland), is the principal body of Presbyterians considered as dissenters from the establishment: and there, also, is a Presbyterian Synod, or Church of "the Apostolic Seceders," formed by seceders from the General Synod, which is thoroughly Calvinistic, and which maintains the same discipline that is usually observed among the seceding Scottish Presbyterians." In the reign of Geo. I. Arianism* was openly embraced

* I take this from books, not having personal acquaintance

by some of the more speculative of the Presbyterian ministers in Ireland, and in consequence, a theological controversy was carried on for twenty years (from 1705 to 1725), which ended in the secession of eight Arian ministers, and the formation of the Presbytery of Antrim. Some who were secretly inclined to Arianism had not the courage to follow the example of the eight seceders, and the leaven continued to spread among the general body during the latter part of the eighteenth century, till at length inquiries were instituted in the Synod, which led to a fresh separation. Seventeen at length seceded out of thirty-seven ministers, holding Arian or Socinian tenets in the year 1830, and they subsequently formed themselves into a distinct Synod, under the name of "the Remonstrant Synod of Ulster," and the Presbytery of Antrim has now become incorporated with this Synod. These Arian congregations are chiefly situated in the counties of Antrim and Down, in the north and eastern part of the province. There are ten or twelve congregations in the south of Ireland forming the Synod of Munster, which were also, till within a few years, Arian or Socinian. The total number of Remonstrant and Socinian congregations is between thirty and forty. *All* the Presbyterian bodies,—Orthodox and Arian, share in the government grants known under the name of "Regium Donum." This royal bounty was originally dispensed among the Presbyterian clergy of Ulster in lieu of the tithes which were taken from them at the Restoration, and bestowed upon the Episcopal conformists. It was withdrawn towards the close of the reign of Charles II.; but at the Revolution, letters patent passed the great seal of Ireland, granting £1200 per annum to seven Presbyterian ministers, during pleasure, for the use of the ministers of the

with the Presbyterians of Ireland: and such is the confusion generally made by authors between Arianism, Socinianism and Unitarianism, that it is difficult to know which is meant. As a large proportion of the modern Presbyterians have embraced Unitarian doctrines, it seems improbable that the Irish should have adopted those of Arius, though my author uses the term Arian as applied to the doctrine of the seceders.

north of Ireland, to be paid quarterly out of any of the revenues of the kingdom. This grant was renewed, under certain limitations, in the reign of Queen Anne: and in the reign of Geo. I. £800 per annum was divided in equal shares between the ministers of the Ulster Synod and those of the Southern Association. In 1784 an additional grant was made to the Ulster Synod of £1000 per annum. In 1792 the grant was augmented to £5000 to be divided among the ministers of the Synod,—the Presbytery of Antrim,—the Seceders,—the Southern Association,—and the ministers of the French church, Dublin. In 1803 some fresh regulations were made, by which the distribution of the bounty was taken immediately into the hands of government, and the Presbyterian clergy were thus rendered more ostensibly what they had previously been only in effect, *i. e.*, stipendiaries of the state. The congregations under the care of the several Synods and Presbyteries are now arranged in three classes according to the number of families and the stipend of each minister; and the allowance to the ministers of the three classes was fixed at £50, £75, and £100 per annum. The members of the congregation feel under no obligation to contribute much, if anything, to their pastor's support, who is therefore often compelled to have recourse to farming, grazing, or some other secular employment, for the support of his family.

“In 1834 the ascendant party in the Synod succeeded in carrying a resolution enforcing unqualified subscription to the ‘Confession of Faith,’ which had not previously been enforced. The ostensible motive for this is a desire to bring about a closer union with the Established Church of Scotland. The Irish Synod being now so far connected with the state as to form a species of ecclesiastical establishment, a feeling has been generated in favor of the established church of both countries: a strong protest, however, has been made against the decision, but without avail.”*

* See “The Use and Abuse of Creeds and Confessions of Faith,” by the Rev. Charles James Carlile, Dublin, 1836. “The Irish Church and Ireland,” p. 66-68, and “A Narrative

The increase of the Presbyterians in Ireland from whatever cause has borne no due proportion to that of the general population.

“Presbyterianism received as a scheme of policy; though admirably adapted to the exigencies of the times in which it originated, partakes of the essential defectiveness of the incipient reformation of the sixteenth century, embodying these erroneous principles which were adopted by the founders of most of the Protestant churches, and which soon proved not less fatal to the cause of Scriptural truth than to the internal peace of the Christian communities.”

The first Presbyterian church was founded in Geneva by John Calvin, about A. D. 1541, and the system afterwards introduced into Scotland, with modifications by John Knox, about the year 1560, but not *legally* established there till 1592. It has never flourished greatly in England, and the Unitarian doctrine has now been almost universally received among the quondam Presbyterian congregations.

The *theory* of discipline in the SCOTTISH CHURCH does not differ very widely from that of the English episcopacy, but the *practice* of the two churches, as modified by the habits of the two nations, is totally different. In order to reconcile the Anglican and Scottish confessions of faith, it would be requisite that the Church of England should consent to suppress Articles III. VII. XXXV. and XXXVI., also that part of Art. VI. which sanctions the public reading of the Apocrypha, and the first clause of Art. XX., attributing to the church a power to decree rites and ceremonies, as well as authority in controversies of faith. Agreeing, as the English and Scottish Churches do *substantially* in the doctrines of the Protestant faith, they nevertheless differ widely,

1. As to the nature of holy orders and the power of ordination.

of the Proceedings of the Associate Synod in Ireland and Scotland in the affair of the Royal Bounty,” by James Bryce. Belfast, 1816.

2. As to the hierarchical constitution of the Anglican Church.

3. As to matters of ritual, especially the use of liturgies which the Church of Scotland rejects.

4. As to the doctrines of sacramental grace and sacerdotal absolution, implied in the offices of the Anglican Church.

5. As to the whole system of discipline, Ecclesiastical Courts, &c.

6. As to certain points of Calvinistic theology.

The INDEPENDENTS differ from the Presbyterians chiefly in three points, namely:

1. As to ordination, and the liberty of preaching.

2. As to the political form and constitution of church government, and the conditions of church communion.

3. As to the grounds and limits of religious liberty.

“Ordination alone,” say the Independents, “without the precedent consent of the Church by those who formerly have been advanced by virtue of that power they have received by their ordination, doth not constitute any person a church officer, or communicate office power unto him.” The Presbyterians on the other hand deny that the mere invitation and choice of the people could confer the pastoral office, or that they are even pre-requisites. The Independents seem to have identified the ministerial function with the pastoral office; and argued that it was absurd to ordain an office without a province to exercise the office in. Their opponents viewed the Christian ministry more as an order invested with certain inherent powers; a faculty or profession endowed with peculiar privileges, the admission into which required to be jealously guarded; and this power and authority they conceive could be transmitted by those of the order. All approved candidates for the ministerial office among the Presbyterians, are ordained without reference to any local change; among the Independents no probationer is ordained till he has been appointed to the pastoral office. The first Independent or Congregational Church in England was established by a Mr. Jacob, A. D. 1616, though it is asserted that a Mr. Robinson was the founder

of this sect, of which Dr. John Owen, Dr. Isaac Watts, Dr. Doddridge, and Job Orton were members.

The following extracts are from the discourses of Robert Hall, who, though a Baptist, dissented from most of his brethren on the subject of strict communion. He was a preacher both of Baptist and Independent congregations, but he did not hesitate to avow that "he had more fellowship of feeling for an Independent or a Presbyterian than for a close communion Baptist." His system of theological tenets was on the model of what has come to be denominated "Moderate Calvinism." With regard to the distinctive Calvinistic doctrine of Predestination, "I cannot," says his biographer, "answer for the precise terms in which he would have stated it, but I presume he would have accepted those employed by the Church of England. In preaching, he very rarely made any express reference to that doctrine."

"Jesus Christ did not come, let it be remembered, to establish a mere external morality, that his followers might be screened from human laws and human justice, for human laws will take care of this. The holy institution of Christianity has a nobler object, that of purifying our hearts and regulating our behavior by the love of God. In the most practical accounts of the proceedings of the last day given in the Scriptures, the excellency which is represented as being a criterion and distinguishing feature of the disciple of Christ, and which He will acknowledge, is: Christian benevolence—love to man manifested in the relief of the poor. The Apostle St. John has given us a most sublime description of the love of God, when he says, 'God is love;' love is not so much an attribute of His nature as His *very essence*; the spirit of Himself. Christian benevolence is not only the 'image of God,' but is peculiarly an imitation of Christ."—"I do not ask, my brethren, what particular virtue you have, but *how much are you under the influence of Him?* for just so much virtue we have, as we have of His spirit and character." "Our Saviour places the acceptance of men, not upon their dispositions, but upon their actions; upon what *they have done*, not upon what they have *merely believed* or *felt*, or in any undefined state of mind."—"I am

persuaded that the cause of the ruin of professing Christians does not arise so much from a mistake of the doctrines of Christianity, as from a low idea of Christian morals; in abstaining from certain crimes and disorders through fear of the loss of character and of punishment, without reflecting on the spirit of that holy religion which we profess."—"Christ went about doing good, not as an *occasional* exercise, but as his *employment*; it was the one thing which he did. Though possessed of infinite power, he never employed it in resenting or retaliating an injury. He was pre-eminently devout. His was an active life; it was not the life of a solitary monk. That devotion which terminates in itself, is a luxury which sometimes perverts the principles of benevolence to a pernicious purpose. Let us rather recede from being called Christians than forget the great symbol of our profession, love to one another."

LETTER VIII.

PARTICULAR BAPTISTS, SUB AND SUPRALAPSARIANS, SANDEMANIANS.

HAVING now given some account of the principal Calvinistic sects, I shall conclude by mentioning a few of those less numerous societies, which, whilst agreeing in the peculiar doctrines of Calvin, differ upon other points. THE PARTICULAR BAPTISTS, agreeing with the General Baptists on most other practices and doctrines, differ from them on this. The separation took place in the year 1616, when a controversy on the subject of infant baptism having arisen among the Baptists, one portion calling itself the "Independent Congregation" seceded, embraced the Calvinistic doctrine, and became the first Particular Baptists: others, who were in general attached to the opinions of Calvin, concerning the decrees of God and Divine Grace, were not entirely agreed concerning the manner of explaining the doctrine of the Divine decrees. The greater part believed that God only *permitted* the first man to fall into transgression, without particularly predetermining his fall: these were termed **SUBLAPSARIANS**. But others again maintained that "God, in order to exercise and display his justice and his free mercy, had decreed from all eternity the transgression of Adam, and so ordered the course of events, that our first parents could not possibly avoid their fall." These were termed **SUPRALAPSARIANS**.

There is a modern sect that originated in Scotland, about 1728, termed Glassites, from its founder Mr. John Glass, who was expelled by the Synod from the Church of Scotland, for maintaining that the "kingdom of Christ was not of this world." His adherents then formed themselves into churches, conformable in their institution and discipline to what they apprehended to be the plan

of the first churches recorded in the New Testament. Soon after the year 1755, Mr. John Sandeman (an elder in one of these congregations in Scotland), attempted to prove that "Faith is neither more nor less than a simple assent to the Divine testimony, concerning Jesus Christ delivered for the offences of men and raised again for their justification, as recorded in the New Testament." He also mentioned that the word *Faith* or *Belief*, is constantly used by the apostles to signify what is denoted by it in common conversation, i. e., a persuasion of the truth of any proposition, and that there is no difference between believing any common testimony, and believing the apostolic testimony, except that which results from the testimony itself, and the Divine authority on which it rests. This led to controversy among the Calvinists and Sandemanians, concerning the nature of justifying faith; and the latter formed themselves into a separate sect. They administer the sacrament of the Lord's Supper weekly, and hold "love-feasts," of which every member is not only allowed but required to partake, and which consists of their dining together at each other's houses, in the interval between the morning and afternoon service. They interpret literally the precept respecting the "kiss of charity," which they use on the admission of a new member, as well as on other occasions, when they deem it necessary or proper: they make a weekly collection before the sacrament of the Lord's Supper; use mutual exhortation; abstain from blood and things strangled; wash each other's feet; hold that every one is to consider all that he possesses to be liable to the calls of the poor and the church, and that it is unlawful to "lay up treasures upon earth, by setting them apart for any future use. They allow of public and private diversions, so far as they are not connected with circumstances really sinful; but apprehending a lot to be sacred, they disapprove of lotteries, playing at cards, dice, &c. They maintain the necessity of a plurality of elders, pastors, or bishops in each church, and the necessity of the presence of two elders in every act of discipline, and at the administration of the Lord's Supper. Second marriages dis-

qualify for the office of elder. The elders are ordained by prayer and fasting, imposition of hands, and giving the right hand of fellowship." In their discipline they are strict and severe, and in every transaction esteem unanimity to be absolutely necessary.

LETTER IX.

CALVINISTIC METHODISTS. EVANGELICAL OR SERIOUS CHRISTIANS.

I NOTICED the name of George Whitfield when speaking of Wesley and his followers, for during a time they acted in unison; Whitfield, however, soon embraced the Calvinistic tenets, and then the friends separated with much of unkindly feeling. Wesley held the doctrines of Calvin in abhorrence, as altogether unchristian and unfounded in Scripture. "I defy you to say so hard a thing of the devil," said he, with characteristic earnestness, when speaking of the notion that God could arbitrarily create any for eternal reprobation. This separation between the leaders soon extended to their congregations, and from that time Calvinistic and Wesleyan Methodists became distinct sects, differing, however, but little on any other point, excepting in the greater tendency to enthusiasm among the followers of Whitfield.

"Wesley and Whitfield," says Mr. Sidney in his life of Rowland Hill, "were men of widely different characters, both in respect to their natural dispositions as well as the discipline of their minds; and painful frailties were visible in the midst of their true greatness. An ambitious love of power was evidently the besetting weakness of John Wesley; aspiration to the *honors* when he had no prospect of the *suffering* of martyrdom, was that of Whitfield." In his letters to Rowland Hill, it is evident how he courted and enjoyed persecution; and whenever "*the fire* (to use his own expression) was kindled in the country," he was not satisfied unless "honored" by being scorched a little in its flame. This was a wrong spirit, and did injury to his own mind, and to his followers, by encouraging a morose and morbid carriage towards the world, giving needless offence, and provoking animosity

in those who might have been attracted and endeared to truth by the lovely graces of pure Christianity."

At the time when he, and his early friends the Wesleys began their ministry, the piety of all classes was at a very low ebb. The earnestness of these men gave a new impulse to religious feeling, and after a time a considerable number of other episcopally ordained ministers of the church, together with a portion of the laity, became influenced by the same sentiments. Without seceding, they formed a party in the church, leaning to Calvinism to the extent they thought justified by the XXXIX Articles; and this party soon became designated by several distinguishing terms. They called themselves *Evangelical* first, afterwards, when that became a cant term of misapplied reproach, they took the title of *Serious Christians*, and by others were called *Low Church*, and *Methodistical*. Besides distinguishing themselves by an especial name, they avoided public amusements, used a peculiar phraseology, and seemed to delight in wearing their religion externally in the sight of all men, thinking perhaps to reform the thoughtless by the example of their greater strictness. But herein, in my opinion, they made a net for their own feet, for that very aspiration after greater exaltation which is implanted in us as a spur to strive after glory and immortality, is soon by mismanagement perverted into a love of earthly distinction. Hence comes ambition; but the ambition for worldly honors has in it this alleviation, that the man who toils after a title or a fortune, knows that he is, after all, seeking but a mean object; and if ever his mind is awakened at all to a sense of the world to come, the soul springs back to its true ambition, and launches into the career natural to it: but the man who seeks to be distinguished among his brethren for superior holiness, and wears it externally, that it may be seen and honored by men, blinds his better nature, and fetters it to earth by chains forged in heaven; he sees not that he is ambitious; he is not aware that while seeking, as he imagines, to honor God in his life, he is enjoying at his heart's core the respectful homage of men; and whilst attending to his outward deportment, and making a display even of his humility, he too fre-

quently leaves the inner heart unchastened. Our Saviour knew the frailties of man, and his injunction that our religion should chiefly be manifested by our benevolent feelings towards our fellow-creatures, while the communing with God should be carried on in silence and secrecy, is the only safe guide in these matters.

I have no doubt that there are many of the Low Church party, whose conscientiousness sets at defiance the dangers of the system they have adopted; indeed my own private friendships warrant me in saying so: but it is not well to lead others into dangerous paths where our own skill indeed may enable us to walk safely, but where the hindmost, whom we are not leading by the hand, are in continual hazard of deviating from the true course; and therefore whilst honoring individual virtues, I continue to consider the whole system erroneous: one whose tendency is to create spiritual pride, and lower the standard of Christian benevolence by restricting to a party that fellowship which should be universal. It does but substitute the excitement of the crowded church where a popular preacher charms with all the graces of rhetoric, of the committee room, of the speakers at Exeter Hall, for the ball room and the theatre; with this difference, that in the first case the instinct which makes the mind seek this excitement, is overlooked; the man believes himself performing a meritorious action, and looks with some contempt on his weaker brethren, who cannot exist without worldly amusements; on the other he knows what he is about, and if he be well-intentioned, guards against excess. It would be wiser, therefore, to acknowledge the instinct; not bad in itself, for God implanted it; and if it be denied a due indulgence, the mind sinks into hopeless imbecility; and not to blame those who seek other, but innocent means of gratifying it.*

* Although the excellent Bishop Heber's mind was deeply imbued with devotional feelings, he considered a moderate participation in what are usually called worldly amusements, to be allowable and blameless. "He thought," says his biographer, "that the strictness which made no distinction between things blamable only in their abuse, and the practices which were

The extracts that I am about to give, from the writings of two men of note, in that party, distinguished also for their genuine Christian feeling, will show that they saw the dangers I have pointed out, and were anxious to guard against them. The following extracts are given in Mr. Sidney's "Life of the Rev. Rowland Hill."*

"I hate dry doctrinal preaching, without warm, affectionate, and experimental applications. Oh! 'tis most pleasant to love one another with pure hearts fervently. Love is of God, for 'God is love.' The summit of our happiness must be the perfection of our holiness. By this blessed grace we have the brightest evidence that we are 'born of God.' If we allow that little shades of difference may exist, we ought to 'love as brethren,' and where Christian candor and love are found to reign, the odious sin of schism, according to its general interpretation, cannot exist." "It is no sign that we value the blessings of God, if we can part with them," (i. e., dear friends,) "without regret. That mind is badly framed that prefers stoical indifference to Christian sensibility, and though the pain is abundantly more acute where those finer feelings of the mind are found to exist; yet who deserves the name of a human being who is without them?" "While a soul within our reach is ignorant of

really immoral, was prejudicial to the interests of true religion; and on this point his opinion remained unchanged to the last. His own life indeed was a proof that amusement so participated in, may be perfectly harmless, and no way interfere with any religious or moral duty."

* "Rowland Hill, in his theological opinions, leaned towards Calvinism, but what is called Hyper-calvinism, he could not endure. In a system of doctrine he was follower of no man, but drew his sermons fresh from a prayerful reading of the Bible. He was for drawing together all the people of God wherever they could meet, and was willing to join in a universal communion with Christians of every name. When, on one occasion, he had preached in a chapel, where none but baptized adults (i. e. baptized after attaining years of discretion), were admitted to the sacrament, he wished to have communicated with them, but was told respectfully, 'You cannot sit down at *our* table.' He calmly replied, 'I thought it was the Lord's table.'" Sidney's Life of R. Hill, p. 422, 3d edit.

a Saviour, we must endeavor to win it to Christ. How weary I am of a great deal of what is called the '*religious world*!' High and Low Church Sectarianism seems to be the order of the day; we are much more busy in contending for *parties* than for *principles*. These evils are evidences of a lack of genuine Christianity. Oh! when shall that happy day dawn upon us, when real Christians and Christian ministers of all denominations shall come nearer to each other."

The next extracts shall be from the writings of one who was scarcely appreciated by the world in general, but of whose excellencies I was enabled to judge, during my residence at Cambridge—Mr. Simeon.

"Religion appears in its true colors when it regulates our conduct in social life; your religion must be seen, not in the church, or in the closet only, but in the shop, the family, the field: it must mortify pride and every other evil passion, and must bring faith into exercise. Try yourselves by this standard: see what you are as husbands or wives, parents or children, masters or servants."*

"The self-righteous, self-applauding moralist can spy out the failings and infirmities of those who profess a stricter system of religion; but let me ask such an one, 'Are there not in thee, even in thee, sins against the Lord thy God?' Verily if thou wouldst consult thy own conscience, thou wouldst see little reason, and feel little inclination too, to cast stones at others. Professors of religion also are but too guilty of this same fault, being filled with an overweening conceit of their own excellencies, and a contemptuous disregard of their less spiritual neighbors. But I would ask the professed follower of Christ, Are there not sins with thee too as well as with the pharisaic formalist? Are there not great and crying evils in the religious world, which prove a stumbling-block to those around them? Are there not often found among professors of religion the same covetous desires, the same fraudulent practices, the same deviations from truth and honor, as are found in persons who make no

* Simeon's Works, vol. iii., p. 101, &c.

profession? Are there not many whose tempers are so unsubdued, that they make their whole families a scene of contention and misery? Yes! Though the accusations which are brought against the whole body of religious people as 'hypocrites,' are a gross calumny, there is but too much ground for them in the conduct of many." "Nothing is more common, and nothing more delusive than a noisy, talkative religion. True religion is a humble, silent, retired thing; not affecting public notice, but rather wishing to approve itself to God. It is not in *saying* 'Lord, Lord!' but in *doing* the will of our heavenly Father, that we shall find acceptance at the last day. Happy would it be if many who place all their religion in running about and hearing sermons, and talking of the qualifications of ministers, would attend to this hint, and endeavor to acquire more of that wisdom which evinces its Divine origin by the excellence of its fruits."*

* Simeon's Works, vol. iii., p. 333.

LETTER X.

ON ROMANISM AND CEREMONIAL RELIGION.

I PROMISED that as the completion of my task, I would notice those differences which have occurred in the bosom of the church itself, even though they can scarcely be called *sects*; I therefore propose to conclude my correspondence with a short survey of the above-named, which I think should rather be viewed as the working out of great principles, than as parties distinguished by particular creeds or opinions on abstract subjects. I may run counter to some prejudices, perhaps, in so doing; but the truth is well worth running a tilt for:—you may sit by as umpire, and decide when I have done, whether I have carried my spear in a knightly fashion.

Though I shall not think it necessary, like Racine's advocate in *Les Plaideurs*, to go back to the Assyrians and the Babylonians to illustrate my proposition, yet I must begin from a very distant period, in order to make my views thoroughly comprehensible. I must therefore beg you to notice that the tendency of man's mind always is, and always has been, towards the visible and the tangible. The pure abstraction of a Governing Will without any perceptible presence, has in it something too remote from the common habits, powers, and feelings of human nature, ever to be thoroughly embraced by the heart of man; and we find that the Deity has always condescended so far to the weakness of his creatures, as to give the imagination some resting-place. Thus the patriarch had his altar of sacrifice, where the fire from heaven marked the present Deity—and the Israelite had first the pillar of the cloud, and then the tabernacle, where the mysterious Shechinah dwelt over the mercy seat. Yet even this indistinct representation of an embodied Deity, did not satisfy the people: they required a

form, tangible, visible, and Aaron yielded to the wish; because he thought it a prudent and allowable compliance with the weakness of human nature. He was wrong, and was punished for it; and this transaction we shall find the type and foreshadowing of everything that has since happened in the world with regard to religion. The Almighty gives man just enough to rest his thoughts upon: it is the fire on the altar, the cloud, the temple, and last of all *the man*, in whom our devotion may find also an object of affection: but he requires that we shall not go beyond this. We must not return to earth, and make for ourselves a worship less spiritual than he has instituted; on the contrary, he requires us to pierce through the veil as we advance in knowledge, and discern the spiritual through the visible. Hence the perpetual denunciations of the prophets against the Jews for their adherence to forms, which latterly they did adhere to, instead of giving attention to the purification of their hearts.

Among all but the Israelites, the progress of the tangible was much more rapid: idolatry, with all its gross rites, had established itself among *the people*; at any rate, in Egypt, at a very early period; and spread from that old and luxurious empire, through the more simple states which sprang up around and from it. The Exodus was a warning from on high, that there was a Being, unseen and intangible, whose fiat governed all things: and this lesson was not wholly without fruit: yet still the human race reverted to the objects of the senses, till, in God's good time he sent his Son: presented a tangible form on which the mind could dwell—then removed it from the earth, and said, "You may now think on this, and give your imagination a resting-place: this form you shall see again; but in mean time you must purify your hearts from earthly desires: that form will only greet your eyes when you have cast off the burden of the flesh, and have entered upon a spiritual existence." The first Christians remembered and loved the man; his precepts, his example, his smallest words or actions were recurred to with the fondness of personal friendship; and this carried Christianity through the first two centuries; but then

this remembrance began to have a character of abstraction, and again the human heart called for tangibility. Then came, step by step, gorgeous ceremonies, pictures, representations of the personal presence and sufferings of the Saviour. The very requirements of those who quitted the splendid and sensual rites of heathenism for the faith of Christ, led the Christian doctors to endeavor to replace the festival of the idol by something analogous in the Christian church: and thus without well knowing what they were tending to, the heads of the church yielded one point of spiritualism after another; sought to captivate and awe the people by impressive ceremonies: and finished by the sin of Aaron: they set up the image and said, "These be thy Gods, O Israel! that brought thee out of the land of Egypt."* For be it observed here, that Aaron set up this image merely as a tangible representation of the true Deity; *a help to the devotion of the people*, who could not worship without seeing something.

This then is Romanism; it is not transubstantiation, nor the mediation of the Virgin and the Saints,† nor the infallibility of popes and councils; these are natural consequences indeed, but the distinctive character of the Romish church is *tangibility*. "There is the actual flesh," it says; "there is the representation of the actual human presence of saints and martyrs; there is the actual man enthroned, who represents the power of God:" but it might have fifty other ways of satisfying this restless craving of the human mind, and it would be equally pernicious in any of these forms. Man's great struggle has always been between the animal and the spiritual nature, and when religion goes one step farther towards tangibility than the Deity himself has allowed, the animal nature gains strength; and vice and licentiousness follow as naturally, among the mass of the people, as rain follows the cloud.

Observe, I do not here deny that many may profess a religion of sense and remain spiritually-minded them-

* Exod. xxxii. 4.

† Vide Colossians, ii. 18, 19.

selves: Heathenism had its Socrates, its Xenocrates, &c. —Romanism has its Pascal, its Fenelon, and a train of other great names: but look at the *people* during that period, and the account will be very different. When an ignorant man imagines that he can remove the Divine anger by a sacrifice or a penance, he avoids the trouble of curbing his passions, and compounds, as he thinks, for indulgence of the one, by the performance of the other; but when he is told that purity of life and thought is the only road to Divine favor, if he sins, he sins at least with some feelings of compunction, some dread that he may not have it in his power to remove the stain he is incurring. The preaching of Wesley reformed multitudes, all enthusiastic as it was; but it would be difficult to find a parallel in the annals of Romanism. As great a movement of the public mind was made by the preaching of Peter the Hermit; but how different was the object and the result! The personal pilgrimage to the Holy Sepulchre, as a mode of wiping out sin, was undertaken by thousands, who perished miserably, or, if they lived, came back not better men than they went: under a system of less tangibility, and a preaching as effective, they might have staid in their homes, and glorified God by a life such as Christ came to teach and to exemplify.

It is so much easier to make a pilgrimage, or endure a long fast, than to subdue and tame the animal nature till it becomes obedient to the rational will, and seconds instead of resisting its wishes, that it is not surprising that in all ages a religion of outward observance should be more popular than one of inward purification. Those even which set off with the highest pretensions in this way have degenerated, and the outward and visible form is too often substituted for the inward and spiritual grace, which it was intended to *represent*, not to *supersede*. That religion, therefore, has the best chance of influencing the soul, which, as far as is possible, renounces outward demonstrations, which human indolence is so glad to rely on, and preaches boldly and effectually the uselessness of ceremonies, farther than as they tend to preserve the remembrance of HIM who came to call the world back to HIMSELF, to trample on the sensual and the animal,

and to raise man to his pristine, or rather to what is to be his future state. A public acknowledgment of Christ as our Master and Lord, and a compliance with his own few and simple ordinances, are all that Christian duty requires, and nearly as much as Christian prudence will permit. The rest is a matter of worldly expediency, and should be so regarded.

No doubt rests on my mind—I leave others to think as they may—that Episcopacy was the established form of the Church as soon as the Christian communities began to assume enough of regularity to admit of any settled order; and I think it a wise form. As far any institution can, it secures unity and decency in the church: and as far as any institution can, that was not positively established by Christ himself, it possesses, in my mind, the sanction of antiquity. It gives the concentration of purpose and regularity of effort which are bestowed by the discipline of an army; for as in an army a detachment acts upon the same system of tactics, and obeys officers constituted by the same authority, and thus assists the efforts of the main body, and falls into rank with it when they meet; so the church, under such a form, may send detachments to the ends of the earth, who may meet after long years, as brothers of the same communion, and find that though the individuals have passed away, others have stepped into their place in the ranks, and are teaching what their predecessors taught. The benefit of church discipline, therefore, in my mind is great; but I do not suppose that salvation depends on it, because God has repeatedly declared that Christ died *for all*,* and that he is not willing that any should perish;† consequently he can hardly have made our eternal state dependent on what no man can accomplish for himself. A person may not have it in his power to receive baptism from an ordained priest, but he may live as Christ taught; or, having never heard of Christ even, he may, like the Gentiles, win glory and immortality,‡ if, having not the law, he be a law unto himself. I would not receive Christ's ordi-

* 2 Cor. v. 15. 1 Tim. ii. 6.

† 2 Pet. iii. 9.

‡ Rom. ii. 6—11.

nances from the hands of any but an ordained priest, myself, because if a doubt exist in my mind, I sin in doing the doubtful thing; but herein I speak only for myself; let every man do as he is "persuaded in his mind"* in matters of secondary import, as all ceremonial matters must be.

You will now be prepared for my opinion with regard to the late movement made in the church by the Anglo-Catholics, as they term themselves; Puseyites, or Newmanites, as they have been termed by others. They have been thought to have introduced innovations—they have not:—there is not one of the ceremonies or practices which they have recommended, which was not very early practised in the church; but it was from the undue importance attached to these ceremonies, which came to be regarded with reverence from having been instituted by apostles and martyrs, that the after growth of Roman superstition sprang up so rankly. I believe the first promoters of this movement were as remote from actual Romanism as I am, when they first began it; but when once reason is submitted to any human dictum, in matters of religion, there is no resting-place till we arrive at the "infallible" guide which the Romish church claims to be. There alone can the soul which will not think for itself, find a ready and confident director. Accordingly, we find that some of those very men who but a few years back exposed the errors of Romanism, have now yielded themselves blindfold to the guidance of that very church, which, as long as they allowed themselves to reason, they acknowledged to have departed from the truth. Yet it is perhaps fortunate for the people generally, that this declension of its pastors has been as rapid and complete as it has been:—they were going back towards the sin of Aaron—they were insisting on ceremonies as necessary to salvation, thus rendering religion gross and tangible, and the people thus taught would soon have forgotten what those ceremonies were intended to represent, and have depended for salvation on what could not avail them in the hour of need: for the repetition of prayer is

* Rom. xiv. 5.

not necessarily praying, nor is the reception of the eucharist necessarily sanctification, though these may be the outward and visible signs of the inward and spiritual grace which is working in the heart. Once teach a man that *any* ceremony is *requisite* to salvation, and he will soon go a step further by himself, and think the outward ceremony sufficient without the inward grace. This, indeed, is but a necessary corollary; for if the ceremony be requisite to salvation, then the inward grace working purity of life, avails not without the ceremony; and thus purity of life is no longer a substantive virtue; it cannot stand alone; and the prop which it requires being so very strong, why should not the prop itself be all in all? This will be the course of ratiocination in the mind of the mass of mankind, whether avowed or not; and, however the promoters of a ceremonial religion may shrink from such a consequence, it is so certain, as all experience shows, that they might as well throw a man who cannot swim into the water, and recommend him not to drown, as give a half-instructed man a ceremony, which he is told is requisite to salvation, and expect that he will not cling to that, as the more convenient and least difficult observance; and whilst perfect in complying with every ordinance of the church, forget that he has overlooked the weightier matters of the law—judgment, justice, and mercy.

This may sound harsh, but it is true: and I appeal to the calm judgment even of the excellent Dr. Pusey himself, who has so unintentionally drawn many into a course from which, haply, he would now gladly draw them back, whether it be not so? His learning will show him how, through all ages, the spiritualism taught from heaven, has been counteracted by the visible and the tangible contrived by man; and in the step from the patriarchal religion, to the idolatry of Greece and Rome; from Christianity as preached by Christ and his apostles, to the gross superstitions of the twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth centuries, he may see a type of what would be the consequence of again enforcing a ceremonial religion.

APPENDIX.

THE following are extracts from the "Christianæ Religionis Institutio" of Faustus Socinus:

Q. Quid igitur de Dei natura, sive essentia, nosse omnino nos debere statuis?

R. Hæc duo in summa. Quod sit et quod unus tantum sit.

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Q. Verum quid quæso saltem de Spiritu Sancto nunc mihi dicis de quo isti similiter affirmant eum esse divinam personam, nempe tertiam, et unum atque eundem numero Deum cum Patre et Filio?

R. Nempe illum non esse personam aliquam a Deo cujus est spiritus, distinctam, sed tantum modo (ut nomen ipsum *Spiritus*, quod flatum et afflationem, ut sic loquar, significat, docere potest) ipsius Dei vim et efficaciam quandam, id est eam, quæ secum sanctitatem aliquam afferat.

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Q. Quid censes de Christi natura sive essentia nobis cognitii esse necessarium?

R. Id, ut antea dixi, sine cujus cognitione voluntas Dei erga nos per ipsum Christum patefacta, a nobis vel sciri, vel servari nequeat.

Q. Quid igitur ex iis quæ ad Christi naturam sive essentiam pertinent, ejusmodi esse censes?

R. Vix quidquam. Nam quædam, quæ ad ipsius Christi personam alioqui pertinent, et nobis omnino ob prædictam causam cognita esse debent, non naturalia illi sunt, sed a Deo postmodum ipsi data et concessa, et sic ad Dei voluntatem sunt referenda, et quidem ad primam quam fecimus ejus partem, id est ad Dei operationes.

Q. Quæ nam sunt ista?

R. Divinum imperium quod in nos habet. Rom. xiv.

9; et suprema illa majestas. Ephes. i. 20, &c.; qua quidquid usquam est, aut excogitari potest, præter unam tantum ipsius Dei majestatem longe excellit. 1 Cor. xv. 27; Phil. ii. 8, 9; Heb. ii. 9. Hæc enim Christo haud naturalia esse, sed a Deo Patre illi data fuisse, ipsumque ea per et propter mortem atque obedientiam et resurrectionem suam adeptum esse, apertissime scriptura testatur.

Q. Cur vero hæc de Christo cognoscere omnino debemus?

R. Quia, ut Christum divino cultu officiamus vult Deus. Joh. v. 25; Psal. xlv. 12; Heb. i. 6; Philip. ii. 10; ejus generis, inquam, cultu cujus is est, quem ipsi Deo exhibere debemus.

Q. Quid de ipsa tamen Christi essentia seu natura statuis?

R. De Christi essentia ita statuo, illum esse hominem. Rom. v. 15; in virginis utero, et sic sine viri ope, divini spiritus vi conceptum ac formatum. Matt. i. 20. 23. Luc. i. 35; indeque genitum, primum quidem patibilem ac mortalem. 2 Cor. xiii. 4; donec, scilicet munus sibi a Deo demandatum hic in terris obivit; deinde vero postquam in cælum ascendit, impatibilem et immortalem factum. Rom. vi. 9.

Q. Quid enim primum sibi vult, quod innuis hoc quod Christus Dei filius sit proprius et unigenitus non omnino ad ejus naturam pertinere?

R. Divina ista Christi filiatio, eatenus tantum ad ejus naturam aliquo modo referri potest, quatenus id respicit quod Christus divini Spiritus vi sine viri ope in virginis utero conceptus et formatus fuit. Nam hujusce rei causa eum Dei filium vocatum ire, ipsius Dei Angelus ipsimet virgini, ex qua natus est, prædixit. Luc. i. 35; et quidem consequenter Dei filium proprium et unigenitum, cum nemo alius hac ratione, et ab ipso primo ortu Dei filius unquam extiterit.

R. Quod attinet ad primum testimonium quod habetur (i. e. of præexistence) Joh. i. 3. Dictio universalis *omnia* non prorsus universaliter accipienda est, sed ad subjectam

materiam restringenda, ut scilicet ea tantum omnia complectatur, quæ ad Evangelium pertinent.

Q. Sed quid dices, quod in loco isto apud Johannem additur; sine verbo, id est Deo filio, nihil esse factum?

R. Immo cum certum esse videatur, mox sequentia verba *quod factum est* (quidquid nonnulli contra sentiant) cum additione ista conjungenda esse: dicendum potius videtur, voluisse Evangelistam cum ista addidit indicare se de quibusdam nunquam antea et nova ac mirabili ratione factis loqui. Nam ad docendum simpliciter se loqui de iis quæ sunt facta nec semper fuerunt, satis habebat illa verba addere, *et sine ipso factum est nihil*. Itaque mysterio non videtur carere, quod præterea addit *quod factum est*; subaudi novum et mirabile, ad mundi ipsius statum pertinens, &c. &c.

Jam dictum est (est de pœnis persolvendis primum agamus) pœnam quam uniusquisque nostrum propter delicta sua pendere tenebatur, mortem æternam esse. Hanc profecto Christus non subiit; et si eam subiisset, universi salutis nostræ et liberationis a peccatorum pœna spes, et ratio funditus eversa fuisset. Immo si jam Christus non resurrexisset, vana, ut inquit Paulus. 1 Cor. xv. 14. 17; esset Evangelii prædicatio, et nos adhuc essemus in peccatis nostris. Et tamen, si idcirco nos servasset Christus, quod pœnas nostris peccatis debitas ipse sustinisset, et nobis ejus rei fides quoad ejus fieri poterat faciendâ fuisset; eum nunquam resurgere, sed in morte perpetuo manere oportuisset. Op. Vol. p. 197, fol. edit.

Ac dicitis, ut conjeci potest, animadvertendum esse, aliam in ipsa essentia divina personam patris esse, aliam personam filii: et Patri potuisse a Filio satisfieri seu ut satisfierat, vim suppeditari: nec tamen aliquid quod satisfactioni per solutionem faciendâ adversetur, committi. Sed dicite obsecro, nonne ipsius filii personæ non minus quam patris satisfaciendum fuisse affirmatis. Si filius patri satisfacit, hoc est, quod illi debetur solvit: quis ipsi filio, quod ipsi debetur, dabit? Respondebitis, ut arbitror, si patri satisfactum fuit, filio quoque satisfactum esse; cum eadem sit utriusque voluntas. Quomodo patri a filio quidquam ullo parto solvi potuisset si quod unius aut

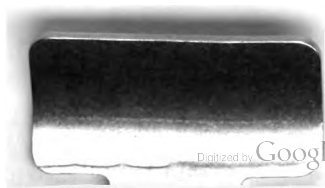
est, aut fit, alterius re ipsa esse necesse foret? At vero quis deinde ambigere queat filium patri nihil dare posse: cum quidquid filius habet patris revera sit, et ipse Christus disertè dixerit, Joh. xvii. 10, omnia quæ sua erant patris esse? Annon ex ipsa disciplina vestra, hoc est Dei essentiam non distinguere, sed partiri: si præter personarum proprietates, aliquid unam personam habere velitis quod alia non habeat. Filii autem personam proprietates suas patris personæ pro peccatorum nostrorum satisfactione solvisse, cui unquam in mentem venire poteret? Ib., p. 202.

THE END.

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